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# THE JERUSALEM POST

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Move on Petah Tikva Shabbat row

## Peres, Shapira set for meeting today

By SARAH HONIG  
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Agudat Yisrael Knesset faction head Avraham Shapira will confer today with Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres in an effort to find a way out of the Shabbat crisis in Petah Tikva.

Aguda sources yesterday played down the threats made by the party's Knesset members on Saturday night that they would walk out of the coalition if charges against Petah Tikva's Chief Rabbi Baruch Shimon Salomon are not dropped.

The feeling in the Labour Party is that there is no serious threat to the coalition, at least not now, but that Labour stands to lose more than the Likud if the deadlock is not broken soon.

For several weeks, Orthodox and secular residents of Petah Tikva have been at odds over Shabbat openings of cinemas and cafes, authorized by the Labour-run city

council. Salomon was arrested after he and his followers allegedly damaged a Petah Tikva cafe Saturday morning. (See Page 2)

The initiative for the Shapira-Peres meeting came from Labour MK Rabbi Menahem Hacohen, who warned against a "conflagration of passions, which could sweep through the country and touch off a culture war between observant and non-observant segments of the population."

Hacohen explained that Peres and the Labour Party are the "natural mediators because Petah Tikva's mayor Dov Tabori is a Labour man."

Tabori will also take part in the talks, as will Religious Affairs Ministry Director-General Moshe Salomon, brother of Petah Tikva's chief rabbi.

Neither Aguda nor Labour sources ascribe any wider political significance to the talks between the

(Continued on Page 6)

## Mubarak: Israeli policies violate Camp David accords

WASHINGTON (JTA). — Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak yesterday charged that Israel has violated the Camp David agreements. He listed as breaches the annexation of East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights and the freeze of autonomy talks unless some of them are held in Jerusalem.

Interviewed from Cairo on CBS-TV, Mubarak said that former premier Menachem Begin and the late president Anwar Sadat had agreed the talks would not be held in Jerusalem.

Mubarak said it would be a grave mistake if the U.S. links aid to Egypt with the return of the Egyptian ambassador to Israel, as some in Congress are urging. Instead, he said the U.S. should "persuade" Israel to take the necessary steps.

When he urged the U.S. to negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization at the end of his recent meeting with President Ronald Reagan in Washington, Mubarak continued, he was not say-

ing anything he had not said publicly in Cairo. He maintained that for King Hussein of Jordan to enter negotiations with Israel, he needs the support of both the U.S. and Egypt.

He said he met with PLO chief Yasser Arafat to help Hussein form a delegation which would include PLO representatives, "to put him on the beginning of the road to negotiations with Israel."

Mubarak denied that he might cancel Egypt's peace treaty with Israel as a means of regaining membership in the Arab League. "If this is the way to join the Arab League, to cancel our agreement, I tell you frankly we do not want to join," he said.

While calling President Hafez Assad of Syria a good man, Mubarak rejected the suggestion that Assad can force Egypt to abrogate its peace treaty with Israel as Syria forced Lebanon to break its May

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

## Third PWD man dies after January ambush in Lebanon

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ  
Jerusalem Post Reporter and Itim

METULLA. — Public Works Department engineer Willy Dickman, 59, of Upper Nazareth, died on Saturday at Haifa's Rambam Hospital of wounds suffered in an attack in Lebanon six weeks ago, which already cost the lives of two other civilians working for the Israel Defence Forces across the northern border.

One, Aharon Ovadia, 48, of Safad, was killed outright in the January 26 rocket-propelled grenade ambush near Nabatiya on a PWD crew, which had completed his day's work and was on the way home. Three weeks ago, another of the wounded, Shimon Shoshan, 42, of Tiberias died in hospital.

He will be buried today at 2 p.m. at the Kfar Samir Cemetery in Haifa.

Last Thursday, David Baghdadi, 50, of Herzliya, a private contractor employed by the IDF, was killed in another attack in Lebanon. A large crowd of mourners yesterday attended his funeral in Herzliya.

The government was represented by Deputy Minister Moshe Katsav, who said that everyone wants to leave Lebanon, but this must wait until peace is assured for the inhabitants of Galilee and the North.

Following the attack six weeks ago, PWD employees refused to work in Lebanon until the Defence Ministry granted them military status regarding indemnity for injury or loss of life there.

A week ago, the ministry officially afforded Ovadia such status, entitling his family to increased pension and other rights.

## Blast destroys fuel tanks at S. African petrol depot

JMELO, South Africa. — An explosion thought to be the work of saboteurs caused a raging fire that destroyed five of 15 fuel tanks at a petrol depot in eastern South Africa early yesterday, police said. No one was injured.

Lt. J.L. Barnard at police headquarters in Pretoria said the cause of the blast, about 200 kilometres east of Johannesburg, was being investigated, but "we do suspect sabotage."

Guerrillas of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) have attacked petrol depots and government installations in the past in their campaign to overthrow the white-minority government.

Fire crews from half a dozen towns fought the flames for several hours before they brought the fire under control.

Meanwhile, jailed black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela has rejected an offer of freedom which was conditional on him living in one of South Africa's black tribal homelands, his lawyer said yesterday.

Mandela, head of the ANC, has served nearly 20 years of a life sentence imposed for sabotage and plotting violent revolution. He conveyed his rejection through his wife Winnie who visited him in a Cape Town jail last week, lawyer Ismail Ayob said. (AP, Reuters)



On the eve of the Lebanese reconciliation talks in Lausanne, a Druse fighter sits in Beirut yesterday with his weapon at rest. (UPI telephoto)

## With reconciliation meet due to start today Rival Lebanese leaders hold last-minute talks

GENEVA. — Christian and Moslem politicians yesterday held last-minute consultations 24 hours before the inauguration of Lebanon's National Reconciliation Conference due to open in Lausanne later today.

Government officials said the inauguration of the conference, originally planned for 10 a.m., would be delayed several hours but would not give a new timing.

The officials said President Amin Jemayel requested the rescheduling after Syria announced its observer at the talks, outgoing Foreign Minister Abdul-Halim Khaddam, would not arrive in Lausanne before the afternoon for personal reasons. Jemayel arrived in Lausanne yesterday.

The clashes were heaviest in the area of the "green line," dividing Christian East and the mainly Moslem West Beirut.

Security sources said the combatants, Moslem militia groups on the West, the Lebanese Army and right-wing Christian forces on the East, were using light to medium weapons.

Details of working papers for the Lausanne conference are secret but political and other sources portray the starting positions of Moslem and Christian factions and the government as follows:

The Druse and Shi'ite Moslems, backed by Syria, have scored decisive victories over the Lebanese Army recently and now want:

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

## NEWS ANALYSIS/David Bernstein Syrian demands will loom over Lebanese negotiators

The leaders of Lebanon's various factions are arriving at the National Reconciliation Conference due to open in Switzerland today armed with maximalist positions — a time-honoured opening to any conference whose only hope of success lies in the readiness of all parties to compromise.

Last any party to the current conference delude himself that this time it will be different, the chief architect of the whole notion of Lebanese reconciliation will be there to remind them — Syria.

Damascus has already cut the Maronites down to size and in the process achieved its prime object of securing Lebanon's future as a Syrian-dominated, unequivocally Arab-oriented country — symbolized in the scrapping of the May 17 accord with Israel two weeks ago.

Its main concern now will be to make certain that no one side emerges from the reconciliation process so dominant that it can dispense with Syria as the sole guar-

tor of Lebanon's political stability. Thus, although Syria's protégés, Druse leader Walid Jumblatt and Shi'ite leader Nabih Berri, arrive in Lausanne militarily triumphant, and President Amin Jemayel and his fellow Christians arrive militarily humiliated, it is by no means certain that Damascus will allow this discrepancy to be translated into political terms.

Syria has consistently demonstrated that it is wholly opposed to any ultimate victor in Lebanon. In the 1975-76 Lebanese Civil War, it intervened on the side of the Christians when it appeared the country's PLO-Moslem alliance might overthrow the existing balance and establish their hegemony — only to switch sides when the tide appeared to be shifting in favour of clear-cut Christian ascendancy.

Likewise during the five or six months since Israel left the Shouf last September, Syria was prepared to let its Druse and Shi'ite allies

(Continued on Page 6)

## Soviet official gives Assad a message from Moscow

DAMASCUS (AP). — Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Gaidar Aliyev met with Syrian President Hafez Assad yesterday and handed him a message from the Soviet leadership, an authoritative Syrian source said.

The source said after the meeting that the talks focused on the cooperation between the two countries "in various fields," international affairs, the situation in the Middle East and issues of common interest.

Contents of the message were not disclosed. The source said Assad would meet with Aliyev today to continue the talks.

Assad's meeting with Aliyev and the accompanying Soviet delegation was in the presence of Syrian Foreign Minister Abdul-Halim Khaddam and Soviet Ambassador Vladimir Youkhnine.

Earlier yesterday, Khaddam met with Aliyev and the Soviet delega-

tion for the second time since Aliyev arrived in Damascus on Saturday.

Aliyev was quoted by the English-language daily *Syrian Times* yesterday as saying in a toast at a luncheon offered by Khaddam in his honour Saturday evening that his visit to Syria, the Soviet Union's closest ally in the Middle East, was a "continuation of consultations on urgent matters of common interest."

Aliyev was quoted as expressing "solidarity with and support for, Syria and its people." "...In its outstanding role in defending Arab revolutionary forces, Syria has become the U.S. first enemy against which the U.S. military fleets are directed," Aliyev was quoted as telling Khaddam.

Aliyev and the accompanying delegation are expected to leave the Syrian capital today, winding up a three-day visit at the invitation of the Syrian government.

## As chaos looms over government hospitals Hospital staff put off threat of total walkout

By D'VORA BEN SHAUL  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Government hospital service workers and nurses decided at the last minute late last night to postpone for 24 hours their threat to defy back-to-work orders and escalate their five-day-old strike which has crippled several major hospitals.

The postponement was accepted to enable negotiations to continue, Israel Radio reported at midnight, quoting Government Hospital Workers Union leader Ronnie Shalem. Talks between the union and the Health Ministry had officially been broken off, when the Treasury official responsible for wage policy left last night's session.

Negotiations are scheduled to begin again this morning.

Earlier, the workers were ordered to call off their strike when a temporary injunction was issued by the Labour Ministry's arbitration board. The Health Ministry and Civil Service Commission, which applied for last night's temporary injunction, are expected to apply to the Labour Court this morning for a permanent injunction.

The workers' reaction to the tem-

porary injunction order was not known late last night, but earlier yesterday they had threatened to ignore 4,000 back-to-work orders issued by the ministry last week.

The Histadrut and the Histadrut Doctors and Nurses Union came out against the strike yesterday.

Meanwhile, food in the hospitals is scarce, laundry is unwashed, floors are filthy and supplies of sterile equipment and medicine are running out.

Only a skeleton nursing staff is working and many bedridden patients have not been bathed since last Wednesday when kitchen, laundry, housekeeping and administrative personnel, together with 5,000 nurses, started an open-ended strike.

Although about 25 per cent of the patients from the general hospitals have been sent home, emergency staff say they are unable to cope with those remaining.

At Haifa's Rambam Hospital, more than 100 patients have been discharged. Deputy director Dr. Albert Sattinger said that these were all the non-urgent cases.

Rambam's out-patient clinics, like those of most government hospitals, have been closed all

week. Only urgent cases and wounded IDF personnel are being admitted.

Many of the patients dismissed from Rambam have been waiting several months for non-urgent surgery.

Dr. Moshe Mashiach, director of government hospital services, said that "it must be remembered that the first duty of the ministry is to the sick." He refused to elaborate but a highly placed ministry source said the ministry is making plans to contract food preparation, laundry services, cleaning and even sterilization of equipment to outside sources.

Union officials said last night there was little hope of ending the strike, since the ministry is still maintaining its original offer to pay only one year of the retroactive pay increments due the workers in order to bring their salaries into line with salaries paid in the Histadrut's Kupat Holim hospitals. The workers are asking for two years' retroactive pay.

Nor has there been any change in position regarding the implementation of a 1972 decision to appoint a commission to study the gap between working conditions of government employed nurses and their colleagues in Kupat Holim hospitals, union sources said.

A leading labour attorney told *The Jerusalem Post* that the workers who have received back-to-work orders are each individually responsible under the law for their actions if they fail to honour the order, even though the decision to do so may have been collective. The maximum penalty for failing to comply with such an order is three years imprisonment.

## Syria confirms gov't reshuffle

DAMASCUS (Reuters). — Syrian President Hafez Assad yesterday appointed three vice-presidents, the official Syrian news agency Sana reported. They are his brother Rifaat Assad, commander of the presidential guard, Foreign Minister Abdul-Halim Khaddam and the assistant regional secretary of the ruling Ba'ath Party. Zuheir Masharka.

Assad also issued a decree requesting the formation of a new government under Prime Minister Abdel-Rauf Kasm. Defence Minister Mustapha Tlas will reportedly retain his post.

The Sana announcement confirmed reports from diplomatic sources in Damascus three days ago.

## Cabinet postpones pullback decision

By ASHER WALLFISH  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Uncertainty about Lebanese political developments and predictions that the IDF might sustain more casualties than at present if it pulls back to new lines in Lebanon have combined to postpone cabinet discussion of another redeployment, it is understood in Jerusalem.

Virtually all ministers prefer to wait first for developments at the Lausanne conference of Lebanese leaders opening today.

The feeling in Jerusalem is that too many elements in the situation

are unpredictable, including the power struggle in Damascus among Ba'ath party heads, for Israel to make a decisive change of course just yet.

There is slightly more optimism in Jerusalem than before, about neutralizing the Lebanese Shia community's hostility towards Israel. This flows partly from the ongoing contacts between Israeli representatives and Shia personalities, and partly because of signs of growing distrust of Syria by Shia leaders.

Reports reaching Jerusalem say

that of all the Lebanese communities, the Shias feel most uncertain about their future, since they are bereft of outside patronage and in danger of being victimized by the Alawi regime in Damascus.

Minister without Portfolio Ariel Sharon met yesterday afternoon with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, and gave him his impressions of a tour of the lines in southern Lebanon, which he made last week. Sources close to Shamir said the meeting took place in a friendly atmosphere.

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ISRAEL



## The weather at major Swissair destinations

11.3.1984	MIN	MAX	COND
AMSTERDAM	1	9	Cloudy
BRUSSELS	1	9	Cloudy
BUENOS AIRES	10	21	Cloudy
CHICAGO	10	21	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	1	9	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	1	9	Cloudy
GENEVA	2	10	Cloudy
HELSINKI	1	9	Cloudy
HONG KONG	14	21	Cloudy
JOHANNESBURG	12	26	Cloudy
LISBON	8	18	Cloudy
LONDON	8	18	Cloudy
MADRID	8	18	Cloudy
MONTREAL	1	9	Cloudy
NEW YORK	1	9	Cloudy
OSLO	1	9	Cloudy
PARIS	1	9	Cloudy
PRINCE GEORGE	20	30	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	14	21	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	1	9	Cloudy
TOKYO	8	18	Cloudy
TORONTO	1	9	Cloudy
VIENNA	2	10	Cloudy
ZURICH	2	10	Cloudy

For the latest weather conditions, consult Swissair.

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## THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy to fair; rain possible in the north and center.

Yesterday's	Humidity	Min-Max	Today's
Jerusalem	53	7-13	13
Golan	91	4-11	10
Nahariya	91	4-11	10
Safed	91	4-9	9
Haifa Port	71	12-17	17
Tiberias	86	9-21	20
Nazareth	86	7-14	14
Afula	63	8-17	16
Shomron	45	8-14	14
Tel Aviv	51	9-19	18
B-G Airport	45	8-19	18
Jericho	26	10-24	23
Gaza	19	11-19	18
Beersheva	19	9-19	19
Eilat	14	12-23	23

## SOCIAL & PERSONAL

French Minister of Research and Industry Laurent Fabius and his entourage yesterday visited the Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot, where they were received by its acting president, Prof. Mordechai Avron, and also met with other institute scientists.

A delegation of public and political figures from Greece arrived yesterday to take part in the dedication of Hellenic House at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The delegation includes former Greek president Constantine Tsatsos and the secretary-general of the Greek Ministry of Culture and Science, Constantine Alvanos.

## Maccabi TA win

Maccabi Tel Aviv are through to the final of the National Basketball League playoffs, but Hapoel Ramat Gan and Hapoel Tel Aviv will have to play a third match to decide who meets them in next week's final.

Maccabi last night dismissed the challenge of Hapoel Haifa with a second successive victory, 85-78, in Haifa. Hapoel Ramat Gan avenged the previous two-point defeat by Hapoel Tel Aviv with a 74-57 triumph at the Ussishkin hall. The two clubs meet again in the critical match tomorrow night at Yad Eliahu.

(Continued from Page One)

- The army radically overhauled to end what they see as the Christian dominance of its command, and guarantees that it will not be used in internal conflicts.
- Powers of the Christian president reduced. They want the prime minister elected by parliament, instead of chosen by the president, and all laws signed by both men.
- An end to the system of sharing out jobs in the public service and seats in the chamber of deputies in accordance with the relative size of different religious groups.
- Formation of a senate in which the main sects would be represented equally, to preserve the rights of smaller groups such as the Druse.
- Wide administrative decentralization and economic and social reforms.
- Israel to be offered security assurances as an incentive to withdraw its troops from South Lebanon. Assurances should be compatible with Lebanese sovereignty and the government

# HOME AND WORLD NEWS

At start of Soviet Jewry week

## Shamir appeals for help for Jews in USSR

Jerusalem Post Staff

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir appealed yesterday to all freedom-loving peoples, to raise their voices on behalf of Soviet Jews wishing to emigrate to Israel.

In a special cabinet statement to mark the opening of Israeli National Identification Week with Soviet Jewry, Shamir said that "many Jews and non-Jews around the world expect the Soviet rulers to change their policy, to decide to stop the anti-Semitic war against the Jewish people, and to open wide the gates of the Soviet Union."

Shamir said that the hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews who had applied in vain to come to Israel "walk as shadows, with neither work nor livelihood, without reason to live, cut off and miserable."

Shamir is to address a Soviet Jewry solidarity assembly tomorrow at 8 p.m. at the Jerusalem Theatre.

Jewish Agency Chairman Arye Dulzin and Chairman of the Public Council for Soviet Jewry Avraham Harman will attend.

A slide show depicting an underground Hebrew kindergarten in Moscow — never shown in Israel before — will be presented on Wednesday evening at a solidarity evening for Soviet Jewry in Rehovot.

The event, organized by the Rehovot 35's, will take place in the Wix Auditorium of the Weizmann Institute at 8.30 p.m.

Jewish activists from the Soviet Union will be available to discuss their experiences at a special exhibition on Soviet Jewry at the Hebrew University in the forum on the Mount Scopus campus.

The exhibition will take place today from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Harman will speak at the exhibition at 10 a.m. today.

## Cabinet weighs demilitarizing Lebanon border checkpoints

By ROBERT ROSENBERG  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The cabinet yesterday began discussing how to transfer authority at the Lebanese border checkpoints from military to civilian control. Government officials said there was no particular political significance in the timing of the discussion.

The original decision to transfer control of border procedures was made by the cabinet in November 1982. Since then there have been no cabinet-level talks on the matter.

Still holding up the transfer are such technical matters as personnel, financing and administration, which are to be worked out by the Transport Ministry. The border

checkpoints would be taken over by the Airport Authority, which comes under the ministry's aegis.

Transport Minister Haim Corfu, who in a Knesset statement a few months ago agreed to the transfer in principle, saying only budget problems stood in the way, yesterday joined with Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori in suggesting that civilian control might not be as stringent as military control, regarding possible terrorist infiltration.

The Jerusalem Post has learned that high ranking police officers share this concern, and also are worried about lacking enough money to man the posts.

## 1984 Israel Festival to be total Jerusalem affair

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Israel Festival is moving to Jerusalem, and the capital will enjoy a month of concerts, dance and other performing arts from May 19 to June 16.

Organizers of the festival told reporters yesterday that experience in both Israel and abroad proved that it is better to hold an event of this size in one city rather than spread it all over the country.

More than 1,000 artists will take part. There are to be 70 formal shows and many street performances by artists from Israel and abroad. The Bond Street Theatre Coalition is to be the festival's guest troupe, and will appear in the streets of Jerusalem with mime, acrobatics and other events. The troupe will also conduct workshops with Israeli performers in the streets.

At yesterday's press conference, Mayor Teddy Kolek, Avner Shalev of the Education and Culture Ministry, director Yishai Amrami of the Jerusalem Theatre, which is

handling the administration of the festival, and artistic director Avital Mossinson stressed that a central aim of the festival is to bring people to Jerusalem. Special tour packages are being organized abroad, and Israelis from development towns will take part in a programme called "a day in Jerusalem," which will include tours of the city and attendance at a performance.

Among the central performances are an appearance by La Scala Opera, Jean-Pierre Rampal, the Brandis Quartet, the Amadeus Trio (members of the Amadeus Quartet), Victoria de Los Angeles, the Sankai Juku dance theatre, and others.

The budget is only \$1,250,000 — 50 per cent less than that of 1981. Organizers said they have cut costs by increasing the number of fringe acts.

For the first time ever, the festival will also include plastic arts. Kolek said that there will be two central exhibitions of sculpture, at the Israel Museum and at the Jerusalem Theatre.

## LEBANESE

should support armed resistance to Israeli occupation.

Jemayel's government is reported to be offering reforms along the following lines:

- Army to be responsible for state security, implying it will not be used in internal conflict.
- More power for Moslem prime minister. He should be elected by parliament and laws should be signed by him as well as president.
- An end to sectarianism in public service.
- Formation of a senate.
- Some administrative decentralization. Formation of a special council to oversee social and economic policy.
- Israel to be given security guarantees as part of negotiated agreement on withdrawal of its troops.

The right-wing Christian leaders at Lausanne, Phalangist party chief Pierre Jemayel and former presi-

dent Camille Chamoun, are likely to resist political reforms and to demand that priority be given to arranging the withdrawal of Syrian forces rather than the Israelis.

Militant Christians unrepresented at the talks have been calling openly for Lebanon to be partitioned into semi-autonomous cantons, each with its own army.

Pierre Jemayel, father of the president, and Chamoun have not commented on this. But newspapers speaking for them have floated the idea of what they call decentralization of security.

One or other of the men, who are presenting a joint working paper at Lausanne, have maintained the following:

- There should be no change in the powers of the president.
- Rights of the sects should be respected.
- No senate should be formed.
- Israeli troops should stay in Lebanon until Syrian forces have withdrawn. (AP, Reuters)



Citrus industry demonstrators angrily display their unsold produce in front of the Prime Minister's Office yesterday in Jerusalem. (Isaac Harari)

## Citrus growers frustrated as police stymie disruptions

By YITZHAK OKED  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Citrus growers are planning to meet late this week or early next week to decide on further steps following yesterday's low-key protests in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.

One leader of the protests admitted that it failed to get across to the government and the public that the citrus industry is in dire need of aid.

The Tel Aviv demonstration, which had been preceded by threats of traffic disruption by heavy trucks, passed peacefully and without any snarls, mainly due to police preventive action.

Police allowed only five trucks full of citrus fruit to leave at one time from their starting point, the huge parking lot at the fairground in the northern part of the city. Every five minutes, another group was let out.

A demonstration in front of the

Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem was also peaceful and ended in two hours, in accordance with a police permit.

Some 1,500 protesters from various branches of the citrus industry demanded a better exchange rate for the shekel to make exports more profitable and heard Labour MK Yehezkel Zakai berate the government for forcing the farmers to demonstrate for an honest living.

Moshav movement secretary Amos Hadar said Israel's agriculture as a whole is in crisis and that its well-being is necessary for that of the state as a whole.

The farmers are now waiting for the results of talks scheduled this week between Agriculture Minister Pessah Grupper and Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir recently called on them to find a solution to the citrus export difficulties.

## Tami won't liquidate itself, Abuhatzzeira tells NRP suitors

By SARAH HONIG  
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Tami leader Aharon Abuhatzzeira yesterday advised the National Religious Party to stop planning on any sort of return by himself, and others who broke away from the NRP in 1981.

Abuhatzzeira was speaking at a session of the Tami central committee at Ohel Shem Auditorium here. "Tami" has been "co-opted" by the rival factions of the NRP in recent months. But yesterday, Abuhatzzeira said his party "was established to be Tami and not to become anything else. We are not about to liquidate ourselves."

He said that "some accused us of being a poor copy of the NRP, but look at the original. How can that party ask its so-called lost sons to return home, when there are no parents there any more and no home. The NRP is about to break up and disappear," he predicted.

Referring to the Petah Tikva Sabbath dispute, he took Labour Mayor Dov Tavori to task and asked why "he had to choose this time to inflame passions?"

## Army probes wounding of boy

By ROBERT ROSENBERG  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The army was due to lift the curfew on Balatta refugee camp near Nablus last night after beginning an inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the wounding of a seven-year-old boy during the dispersal of a riot yesterday. Observers attributed the riot to rising tensions between pro-Jordanian and pro-PLO forces.

The riot at Balatta broke out yesterday morning when dozens of people from the camp began hurling stones at passing cars and patrolling soldiers. The soldiers used tear gas

and fired shots into the air to disperse the crowd.

A ricocheting bullet apparently struck the boy and he was taken to Raffidiyeh Hospital in Nablus where he was treated for light injuries. The army then imposed the curfew. Military sources indicated last night that the curfew would be lifted by dawn, and said an inquiry is underway.

## Arafat: 'All differences forgotten'

AMMAN (AP). — Palestine Liberation Organization chairman Yasser Arafat ended two days of talks with Jordanian officials yesterday and announced that "all differences of the past were forgotten."

Arafat said joint teams would be expedited to Arab and international capitals to explain the Jordanian-Palestinian position. But he ruled out any joint Arab or international trip with King Hussein.

Arafat, accompanied by his political adviser Khaled Hassan, met yesterday with Jordanian Prime Minister Ahmed Obaidat and Foreign Minister Taher Masri. Arafat met Saturday evening with

Hussein. Arafat was expected to leave for Riyadh later, where he was expected to meet with King Fahd today.

## Water price up

A subcommittee of the Knesset Finance Committee yesterday approved a 7 per cent increase in the price of water.

The subcommittee rejected a request from the Agriculture Ministry to hike the price by 40 per cent in order to reduce the large subsidy.

The panel, in fixing the increase at 7 per cent, calculated according to the recent hike in electricity prices.

## Police continue probe into Petah Tikva 'cafe riot'

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

PETAH TIKVA. — Petah Tikva police yesterday continued their investigation into allegations that the town's Chief Ashkenazi Rabbi Baruch Shimon Salomon and scores of followers caused serious damage to Cafe Gan Eden on Saturday morning. Petah Tikva Police Commander Ya'acov Bardo told The Jerusalem Post he intends to complete the investigation this week.

Refusing to divulge details, Bardo said that when the investigation is completed, police will decide whether to press charges.

Salomon, who was questioned by the police on Saturday night, was alleged to have trespassed and caused damage in the cafe.

The cafe owner filed a complaint

with the police, stating that Salomon and his followers burst into the cafe, hit customers, spilled beer and ark on them, broke windows and tore doors from their frames.

The cafe was open for the second time on Saturday, following the town council's adopting of a by-law authorizing Mayor Dov Tavori to open entertainment and eating establishments on weekends and holidays.

Interior Minister Yosef Burg has not yet received the amendment to the by-law adopted by the Petah Tikva municipality, his spokesman, Yitzhak Agassi said. He said that when Burg gets the by-law he will study it. Agassi denied radio reports that Burg had decided not to approve the by-law.

## Ex-wife held in TA man's car bombing

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A couple was arrested last night on suspicion of involvement in the explosion of a grenade in a parked car belonging to the woman's former husband. There were no injuries.

At about 9.30 p.m., a loud blast shook Simat Meir near the Meir Park in central Tel Aviv, outside the building housing the penthouse flat of Shimon Mizrahi, the owner of Quick Bar on Allenby Street. He

looked outside to see his Susita flames.

Police and fire fighters rushed to the scene, and explosives experts found another booby-trapped fragmentation grenade, of IDF manufacture, in a Buick parked nearby, also belonging to Mizrahi. The grenade was defused.

Police began investigating, and shortly afterwards, a man and woman were arrested. It is believed that the bombing was part of a dispute between criminals.

## Police, ministry ought to fight tax evasion

Police and the Justice Ministry should cooperate with the Treasury's tax division to combat tax evasion, the Treasury's Director-General Emmanuel Sharon told the members of the Ministerial

Economic Committee yesterday. Sharon said there are hundreds of cases which have not been examined and without adequate cooperation tax evasion will increase.

## J'lem police had cultists under surveillance last year

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Detectives from the Office of Special Tasks (Latam) a year ago spent almost a week staking out a cult group in Jerusalem whose three members were recently arrested on suspicion of trying to attack the Temple Mount.

But police sources said yesterday that since the cultists did not behave suspiciously and neighbours in Lifta did not complain about them, the stake-out was dropped and the information gathered was filed.

The group was put under surveillance by Jerusalem police after the Tel Aviv District police began to suspect that at least one member of the cult — Shimon Bardo — may have been involved in Dan region robberies, and they passed the information on to Jerusalem, with recommendations for action.

Among those recommendations was a call for a phone tap on Bardo and other members of the group. This struck the Jerusalem police as absurd since the cultists were living in an abandoned house, with no electricity, water, or a telephone.

The police statement yesterday came in the wake of a Ma'ariv story that an "order from above" was given to prevent an investigation of the cultists during the past year. "There is no truth to that story," said a terse statement issued last night. The Ma'ariv report caused a furor in police headquarters.

One source stated that the Tel Aviv District police command wanted to steal some limelight from the Southern District.

Jerusalem police officers are still seeking Shimon Bardo, who is still at large. It was learned that Bardo, who has served time in jail on several counts of robbery, was a student for six weeks at the Or Samet yeshiva.

## MUBARAK

(Continued from Page One)

17, 1983 agreement with Israel a week ago.

"Whatever we decide we don't change," the Egyptian president declared. "This agreement is constitutionally approved in this country."

Mubarak seemed evasive about reports that he had told King Hassan of Morocco last year that Camp David is dead. He told his interviewers that Camp David is "the only document which is agreed upon by Israel, the U.S. and an Arab country since the Palestinian problem started."

At the same time, Mubarak said that he would not send Egypt's ambassador back to Israel until Israel withdraws completely from Lebanon and begins some movement on the Palestinian issue. He said he does not want cold relations with any country, including Israel.

and noted that he has not sent back Israel's ambassador to Egypt or closed the Israeli Embassy in Cairo.

In Cairo, Foreign Minister Kamel Hassan Ali told visiting Israeli Minister of Industry and Trade Gedon Patt that "a flexible Israeli policy in the Middle East will encourage other parties to join the peace efforts."

Egypt wants Israel to abandon its "expansionist policy of building more Jewish settlements," in administered territory, the ministry statement added.

Patt had earlier met Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butros Ghali who stressed the need to involve Jordan and the Palestinians in Middle East peace moves. Patt, who attended Saturday opening of Cairo's annual trade fair, said Israel wanted better trade relations with Egypt.

## Trade deficit increased 14% last month

By AVI TEMKIN  
Post Economic Reporter

Israel's trade deficit totalled \$226 million last month, an increase of 14 per cent over the \$198m. in February 1983.

Figures released yesterday by the Central Bureau of Statistics showed that the widening of the trade gap was due to a 7 per cent increase in imports which offset a slight rise in exports.

But cumulative figures for the last two months still show a 17 per cent decrease in the trade gap. The excess of imports over exports in the first two months of the year totalled

\$430m, as compared to \$519m. in the same period last year.

February's trade figures reflect a slowing down in the apparent trend of improvement in the international trade statistics of the last months. The Treasury has stressed that maintaining this improvement is the main aim of its current policies.

The improvement over the last two months was caused by a 10 per cent surge in exports — which totalled \$853m, over the period — accompanied by a 1 per cent drop in imports of goods — which amounted to \$1.28 billion in January and February.

Detailed figures for exports reveal that sales of industrial goods abroad increased by some 10 per cent to some \$510m. in the first 2 months of the year, while agricultural exports rose by 15 per cent to total \$152m. in the same period. Exports of diamonds totalled \$191m., 8 per cent more than in January and February 1983.

The increase in exports over the two months reflects mostly the large rise registered in January. Last month, exports increased by only 3 per cent as compared to their level in February 1983 and were 20 per cent less than the exports for the previous month.

Industrial exports decreased by some 2 per cent in February, and only a 12 per cent rise in agricultural exports kept the figures for sales abroad on the increase.

Reacting to these figures, the Industry Ministry declared yesterday that February's drop in industrial exports was caused by a decrease in military exports, while civilian sales to abroad rose.

The ministry added that the rise in civilian exports was the result of measures taken by the government to improve profitability.

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## Court: Mother can't get adopted child back

The Supreme Court has ruled against a young unmarried woman who had changed her mind about allowing her deaf infant son to be adopted, and sought to have him taken from his adoptive parents and returned to her.

The court thus accepted an appeal from the attorney-general, who had asked it to overturn a lower court decision granting custody to the natural mother.

The woman, a student, conceived the child with a married man and decided while pregnant to place the child for adoption. Soon after her son's birth she signed release papers, and he was adopted by a childless couple.

Several months later, however, the woman changed her mind. A district court acceded to her suit to have her infant given back to her, basing its decision on the infant's right to be raised by his natural parent or parents and the provision in the adoption law allowing the natural mother to change her mind. While the Supreme Court was

studying the appeal from the attorney-general to overturn the district court ruling, it was discovered that the infant had been born deaf. It emerged that the mother had contracted measles during the second month of pregnancy. Besides causing his deafness, there is a possibility the measles may have caused heart and brain defects in the infant.

The Supreme Court panel, made up of court President Meir Shamgar and justices Aharon Barak and Eliezer Goldberg, said that the child's good is the main criterion in the decision. On this basis, the adoptive parents are probably better suited than his mother to raise the child properly and care for him, especially in view of the difficulties he is bound to encounter due to his deafness and perhaps other disabilities.

Barak, who wrote the main opinion, said a mother may change her mind and be given her child back only if there are exceptional and weighty reasons. In this case, such reasons were lacking. (Itim)

## Haifa MKs: Restore Rothschild funds

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
MK Shevah Weiss yesterday pledged that he and other Haifa MKs would unite in their efforts, regardless of political affiliations, to reverse the Health Ministry's decision to stop funding the Rothschild Hospital's partially completed wing project. The decision, if approved by the Knesset, would endanger the lives of patients in Haifa and the North, he said.

Weiss told reporters at a press conference at the hospital that Haifa has become a deprived area — particularly for medical facilities — compared with the rest of the country.

The problem was partly due, he said, to the fact that the city's MKs were not represented on strategic

Knesset committees, especially the finance committee.

Rothschild staff, meanwhile, are continuing their industrial action which has closed the emergency ward to all but "life or death" cases for more than a week. Doctors' committee chairman Dr. Yitzhak Horowitz warned they will step up their action unless the ministry rescinds its decision.

In the meantime, the contractor for the new wing has threatened to cut the hospital's electricity and water supplies unless he is guaranteed payment for equipment already ordered.

Dr. Dov Golan, hospital director, warned that he would be forced to close the hospital completely rather than allow this to happen.

## House arrest for Haifa prosecutor

**HAIFA (Itim).** — Chief municipal prosecutor Zussia Eitan will remain under house arrest until the end of his trial for alleged bribe-taking and forgery, the Haifa District Court ruled yesterday.

Prosecution had asked that he remain in jail, but he was granted limited freedom on 150 million bond. The release was ordered after 48 hours to allow time for an appeal to the Supreme Court in Jerusalem.

At the start of the session, a second charge sheet was filed against Eitan. He is accused of altering his birthdate on a document from 1913 to 1921, an act which enabled him to stay on the job rather than submit

to compulsory retirement.

The defendant had already been charged with accepting bribes, betraying the public trust, destroying evidence, obstructing justice and forging a letter, purportedly from Deputy Attorney-General Yehudit Karp, resulting in the staying of prosecution against a Haifa kiosk owner who faced some 100 counts of operating without a license.

Eitan's lawyer asserted that the charges were mostly fabricated by a single state's witness with the help of the police. But the court ruled that a covertly taped conversation constituted *prima facie* evidence against the accused, and a trial will be necessary.

## Remand asked for Flem murder suspects

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
The district attorney's office has asked District Court Judge Ya'acov Zak to remand two key suspects from the Jerusalem underworld into police custody until the end of their trial.

The two, Micha Aslan and Gabi Ben Harush, have been indicted for murder. Bazak yesterday asked to

review the material in the case before deciding on the request.

Police sources, meanwhile, said they would oppose a release of the two, for fear that they would seek to suborn witnesses. Among these is state witness Ya'acov Shitrit, an underworld figure whose decision to inform on past colleagues reportedly led to an attempt on his life.

## Holocaust conference in New York next week

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
HAIFA. — An international conference on the Holocaust in Hungary, sponsored jointly by the City University of New York and Yeshiva University, is to be held in New York next week.

Hungarian specialists, Professors Gyorgy Ranki of the Hungarian Academy of Science and Andras Kovacs will present papers at the meet, and experts from the U.S. and Israel will take part in the conference.

Another international conference on the subject will be held in Haifa University next May and the Hungarian Academy of Science is organizing a third meeting in Budapest in August.



Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Moshe Levy yesterday places a wreath on the memorial to Israel Defence Forces soldiers whose graves are unknown. The ceremony, held at the Mount Herzl Military Cemetery in Jerusalem, takes place on the Hebrew calendar date of Adar 7, the biblical date of the death of Moses, whose burial place is unknown. Among those attending were members of bereaved families; the president, prime minister, speaker of the Knesset, ministers, senior IDF officers, the chief rabbis and police inspector-general. Hannah Zerubabel, whose son Ovadia was killed while escorting a convoy from Kfar Etzion in 1948, lit the memorial flame.

(Rahamim Israeli)

## Project Renewal 'is best project of its kind'

**By JUDY SIEGEL**  
**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

Project Renewal is "the most successful urban rehabilitation programme of our time anywhere in the world," according to Professor Daniel Elazar, president of the Jerusalem Centre for Public Affairs, who headed an "independent study" of the joint government-Jewish Agency slum renewal programme.

Elazar, a professor at Bar-Ilan University, gave this assessment yesterday at a press conference in Jerusalem marking the second part of his centre's study of Project Renewal. The second part was written by Dr. Paul King, Orli Hachohen and Elazar.

The good marks that Elazar gave Project Renewal do not mean that it is a complete success or lacks problems. "There are places where it won't succeed, but overall, it is successful. However," he main-

tained, "most urban renewal projects around the world have either been terrible failures or modest successes because they didn't make things worse."

Elazar said that at no time did government or agency officials try to pressure him to give a favourable verdict.

The renewal campaign was announced by then-premier Menachem Begin at a fund-raising dinner in the Knesset in August, 1977. He described a grand vision of rehabilitation of urban neighbourhoods "within five years."

The great contribution of Project Renewal, Elazar explained, was the new role of consultation and involvement by both Diaspora Jews and by slum residents. In the past, the Diaspora givers only donated, and the residents were told what was good for them by Israeli authorities.

Begin and his advisers initially intended that the 69 designated neighbourhoods be physically rehabilitated, but Project Renewal officials and Diaspora Jews insisted that social rehabilitation be a major part of it — something that made it "successful," said Elazar.

Personal ties between the mostly-Ashkenazi Diaspora donors and the mostly-Sephardi residents became very strong, closer than those between most Ashkenazi officials in Israel and needy Oriental Jews.

Elazar said that the successes are not necessarily irreversible, if contacts are not maintained after financial support by the twinned Diaspora communities is stopped. Diaspora communities will soon phase out maintenance money for facilities built in a number of neighbourhoods, but those social and educational programmes that won't receive government support are likely to receive continued funding from the Diaspora, he said.

Elazar and his team conducted interviews and studied reports involving six neighbourhoods, including Ramat Hashikma in Ramat Gan, Or Yehuda, Netivot, Ashkelon and the Musrara quarter of Jerusalem.

## Baby born in Safad hospital elevator

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

**SAFAD.** — The Upper Galilee ambulance driver was set to relax, having delivered a 22-year-old Kfar Szo'd woman to the Safad hospital without having to deliver yet another baby en route.

But then the hospital elevator got stuck on the way to the fourth-storey delivery rooms, and he had to play midwife after all.

The journey began at 4 a.m., when driver Danny Rahamim was summoned to pick up Rahel Ben-Amram. The trip to Safad took longer than the usual hour, because every few minutes the anxious mother-to-be called on Rahamim to stop, because she felt she was about to give birth.

Safely at the hospital, Ben-Amram and her husband entered the elevator, but it would not budge. A midwife was summoned, but by the time she arrived, the healthy, 3.2-kilo girl was already being born. The baby was carried up the stairs to the nursery, and the mother was taken to an emergency elevator.

## TA seeks advertisers to relieve toilet shortage

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

**TEL AVIV.** — City ombudsman Yitzhak Artzi and the head of the city's sanitation section, Ze'ev Refua, have decided to seek sponsors who will finance, in exchange for advertising rights, the building of new public toilets.

A city controller's report of some two years ago deplored the state of the few existing toilets, most of which were closed when needed. Pedestrians, shoppers, visitors,

tourists and others have long suffered from a lack of facilities in the city.

Recent budgetary cuts have resulted in the cancellation of plans to build new public toilets.

In addition, the sand pits designated as toilet facilities for dogs — marked with signs on which a dog's head was drawn — were eliminated three years ago from the city's boulevards at the instructions of former sanitation department head Arye Kremer.

## Criminals 'settling' in quiet Nahariya

**Special to The Jerusalem Post**

**NAHARIYA.** — Criminals have settled in this quiet northern town to keep an eye on the smuggling of drugs from Lebanon to Galilee, a high-ranking police officer said yesterday.

Speaking at city hall during a visit by Knesset Interior Committee chairwoman Shoshana Arbeli-Almosino, Pakad (Chief Inspector) Ronni Raz said that, since the Lebanon war began in June 1982, the police had accurate information that some 17 tons of hashish were smuggled from Lebanon. However, he said, only four tons had been found.

Raz added that the crime rate in Nahariya rose by 28 per cent in 1983 over the past year, while the number of policemen had not changed in the past 10 years. Nahariya's proximity to the Lebanese border attracts smugglers and other criminals to the town to conclude their deals, said Raz.

## 4-man Soviet delegation due for a week's visit

A four-member delegation from the Soviet Peace Committee is due to arrive this weekend for a one-week visit at the invitation of an Israeli public committee comprising 14 Knesset members and persons who visited the USSR in recent years, Rakah, the Communist Party, announced yesterday.

Heading the delegation will be Yuri Barbash, editor-in-chief of Soviet Culture and chairman of the Soviet Committee for Friendship and Solidarity with the Palestinian People.

Other members are Yuri Druzdov, head of the Soviet Peace Committee's Middle East section; Alexander Krasnov, head of the African and Middle Eastern affairs department of the Novosti news agency; and Dr. Wilhelm Gruend, an expert on kidney diseases employed by the Institute for Tuberculosis Research in Moscow.

The visitors will meet with various Knesset members and other individuals and groups and will tour the country.

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Opening speech by Gerhard Baum, M.P., Deputy Chairman of the German Liberal Party.  
The exhibition will be open until April 13, 1984.

## Israel television to screen Spring Festival next month

**By JUDY SIEGEL**  
**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

Twelve programmes, in the fields of drama, music, dance and feature and documentary film, will be broadcast by Israel TV during the first two weeks of April as a "Spring Festival."

This is the first event of its kind in Israel. TV director Tuviya Sa'ar said at a press conference in Jerusalem yesterday.

Three of the programmes were made in Israel. The others were purchased from Sweden, France, Italy, Austria, Belgium, Canada, England and the U.S.

Elon Goitein, head of TV House's drama department, brought up the idea of the festival after the Israel Festival last year was cancelled. He assembled the shows for the event.

If the reaction to the TV festival is positive, TV hopes to hold similar festivals annually.

Among the imported programmes are *King Gustav III* — Farewell to a Player King, a Swedish musical fantasy about the actor-king's last

day on the stage; a French documentary on the singer Edith Piaf; Federico Fellini's film *Prova D'Orchestra*; Puccini's opera *Turandot*; a documentary in memory of actress Anna Magnani; a Canadian drama called *Special Bulletin* about a TV team in South Carolina being held hostage by anti-nuclear war demonstrators; and Jules Feiffer's film *Little Murders*.

*Hayloft in Manhattan*, an Israeli drama on the relationship between Nobel Prize winner author Isaac Bashevis Singer and his Israeli son, journalist Yisrael Zamir, is one of the local productions. The others are a tape of Brahms' *German Requiem* performed during last January's Liturgical Music week by the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra, and a story about the Acre festival.

Sa'ar also said the institution of summer time at midnight May 5 will force TV to make changes in its regular Saturday night schedule. In addition, he said, the American series *Dallas* will return next month and run through October.

## More money needed for deaf teenagers

**By LEA LEVAVI**  
**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

**TEL AVIV.** — Lack of money is depriving deaf teenagers of the opportunity to develop reading skills. Oded Hon, director-general of the Association of the Deaf, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday. The statement came in the wake of a reading comprehension survey made public yesterday, which showed that half the pupils at the Ort Vocational High School for the Deaf read at a level below that of first grade.

The Association runs the Helen Keller House where most of the pupils who attend the Ort school live. "We are providing reading lessons here at Helen Keller House," Hon said, "but it isn't enough and there is no money to provide more. The Ministry of Education also only gives each child one or two hours a week of communications training (speech lessons which could help reading comprehension)."

Hon also complained that many teachers of the deaf do not know sign language well enough, which he also blames on insufficient resources for teacher training.

Hon pointed out that the pupils at the Ort school are those deaf

teenagers who are unable to find places in other educational settings. Therefore, he said, their low reading level is not surprising. He added that studies done in the U.S. have shown that about 30 per cent of the deaf never achieve a reading level of above third or fourth grade.

Ort director-general Yisrael Guralnik said he could not comment because he had not seen the survey.

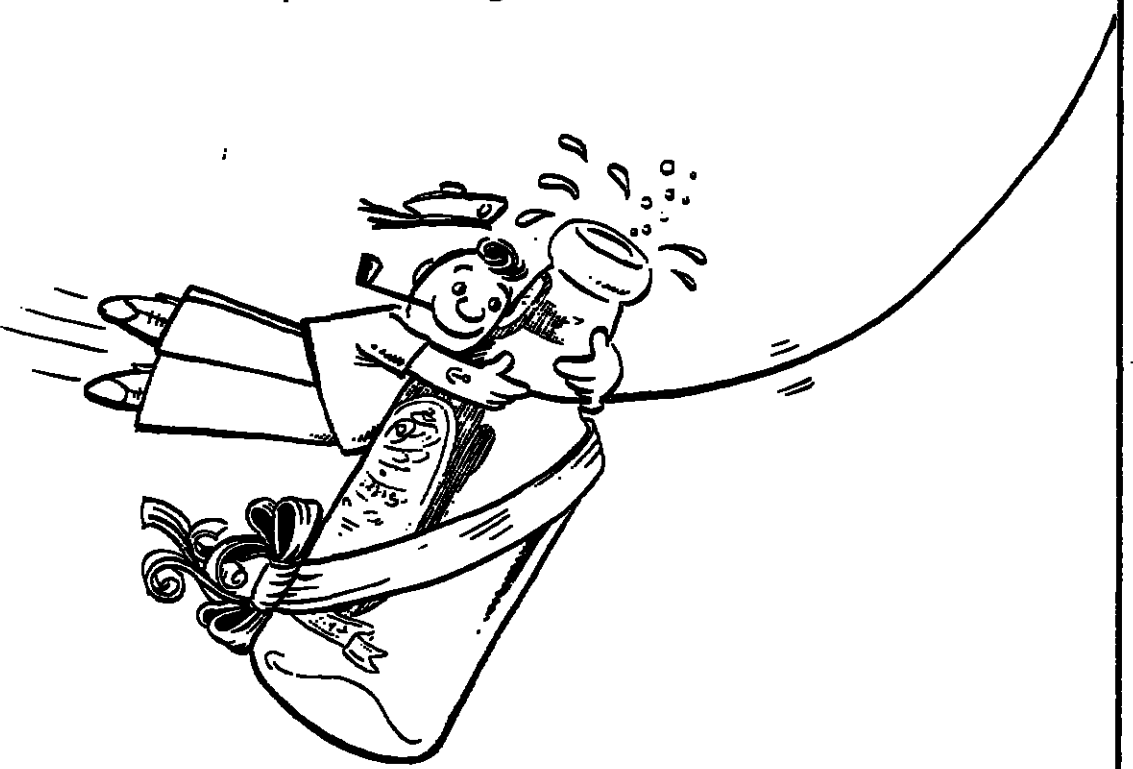
An Education Ministry spokesman refused comment, saying the ministry will not comment on every survey but will continue its efforts to help children with reading comprehension problems.

## 28 hurt in Egged bus mishap in Gaza Strip

**KHAN YUNIS (Itim).** — Twenty-eight passengers on an Egged bus, all of them local residents, were injured yesterday when it overturned while on the way to Gaza.

The injured were taken to the Khan Yunis government hospital. Eighteen were discharged after being treated. The injuries of the 10 hospitalized were described as light to medium.

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# Head To Head

## Now It's Mondale's Turn To Try to Stage an Upset

By HOWELL RAINES

ATLANTA — FOR months, Walter F. Mondale played peace-maker on the campaign trail, warning his rivals for the Democratic Presidential nomination that attacks on one another would only hurt the party's chances of beating President Reagan. But last week Mr. Mondale abruptly shelved his speak-no-evil politics. From Boston to Tampa, he denounced Senator Gary Hart as a cold, aloof newcomer who would betray the Democrats' bedrock ideals of fairness and compassion.

"Where's the heart? Where's the guts?" Mr. Mondale exclaimed as he pressed his argument that Mr. Hart has severe character deficiencies. "It is not just a horse race," he added later in the week. "This has become a battle for the soul of the Democratic Party and for the future of our country."

It was also a battle to save the Mondale campaign from total collapse. Mondale strategists acknowledged that the attacks were a last-resort effort to slow the advance of Mr. Hart, who since the Iowa precinct caucuses on Feb. 20 has wiped out Mr. Mondale's standing as the party's front-runner.

With his victory in New Hampshire on Feb. 28, Mr. Hart started one of the most startling breakthroughs in modern campaign history. Next came another success on March 4 in the Maine caucuses. Then on Tuesday, he trounced Mr. Mondale in Vermont's nonbinding primary. No delegates were at stake in Vermont, but Mr. Mondale admitted he was "clobbered" in the battle for publicity that seems more important than the delegate count at this early stage of the campaign.

Mondale aides suggested that he had no choice but to strike out in response to Mr. Hart's breathtaking ascent. "The thinking was that we were going to be dealing with an incredible avalanche of positive publicity for Hart," said a Mondale adviser. "We had to engage him on the issues. Otherwise we would have been drowned."

Now, with the approach of Tuesday and its array of primaries and caucuses, the questions are these: Can the Hart phenomenon sustain itself with a leap from equality to superiority? Can Mr. Mondale run strongly enough to buy time for a rebound? In other words, when it comes to nomination politics, the stakes seldom get much higher. Although the Rev. Jesse Jackson, George McGovern and Senator John Glenn are still stamping, the battle for the South has come down to a mano a mano between Mr. Hart and Mr. Mondale.

There will be primaries in Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Massachusetts and Rhode Island on Tuesday, as well

as caucuses in Washington, Nevada, Oklahoma and Hawaii. Altogether, 13 percent of the 3,933 delegates will be chosen, but once again, momentum and political vitality appear to be the more important prizes.

Mr. Jackson and Mr. Glenn have been trying to sustain their candidacies by appealing to special constituencies. Mr. Jackson has worked the black pulpits, saying that he deserves the minority vote based on his service in the civil rights movement. Mr. Glenn, in a last-stand effort, has concentrated on Alabama, reaching for conservatives by emphasizing his record as a marine and as a former astronaut.

But the real drama is in the Mondale-Hart struggle. After New Hampshire, Mr. Hart jumped from a blip in the polls in Alabama. His Florida campaign caught fire, too, fueled by volunteers and delegate candidates freed by the withdrawal of former Governor Reubin Askew of Florida. Mr. Hart also showed enough movement in Georgia, where his opponent had counted on a safe lead, to force Mr. Mondale to take the rare step of emphasizing his ties to President Carter by appearing with Mr. Carter at a barbecue in Plains, Ga., on Saturday.

Mr. Mondale's strategists regard these three Southern states as the key to his fate. With a strong showing, Mr. Mondale can return to his native Middle West, with the Michigan caucuses on March 17 and the Illinois pri-

### The Jackson Campaign, page 2

mary on March 20, in contests where his backing by the A.F.L.-C.I.O. can be played to the maximum.

His problem, however, is that Mr. Hart last week appeared to be on the verge of lifting his candidacy above the level of regional loyalties and endorsements through a skillful use of both paid and free time on television. The medium has not been kind to Mr. Mondale recently. He has been a gray presence, occasionally refusing to appear to avoid questions about his low vote totals.

At the same time, Mr. Hart has blanketed the key states with television commercials and hit the interview shows with his upbeat messages. He has appealed to the South's potent populist tradition. "Send a message to Washington," Mr. Hart suggests, by refusing to accept Mr. Mondale, the candidate of "Democratic bosses."

Mr. Mondale cannot be counted out. But it is also true that the rumor mills on Capitol Hill began churning last week, grinding out speculation about whether some candidate such as Senator Edward M. Kennedy or Governor Cuomo could be drafted in a "Stop Hart" movement. That means that some of the "Democratic bosses" doubt that Mr. Mondale is up to the job.



Drawings by Barry Pincus

## The Table Will Be Crowded When Reconciliation Talks Resume Tomorrow

# Syria May Find Lebanon a Doubtful Prize

By E. J. DIONNE

BEIRUT, Lebanon

WHEN President Amin Gemayel's Cabinet canceled its troop withdrawal accord with Israel last week, most of the important political and military cards in Lebanon passed to Syria and its Muslim allies. The era of Israeli-Christian ascendancy that began with the 1982 invasion formally came to an end.

Many Christians, notably the Phalangist militia, opposed Mr. Gemayel's choice of Syria over Israel. But they were exhausted by military defeat and the murderous shelling. "We lost," said a stoic resident of Christian East Beirut. "The President had no choice."

Another loser was the United States, which had brokered the agreement with Israel, offered sweeping promises of support to Mr. Gemayel and then pulled out the Marines just as Syria's President Hafez al-Assad was winning. "The United States was playing ping-pong in Lebanon," said Naoum Farah, a Christian militia leader. "Syria was playing rugby."

Many Muslim political leaders were exultant. But they, too, were wary. Mr. Gemayel's decision to sign with

Syria does not necessarily solve their problems with him. Nabih Berri, the Shiite leader and linchpin in any settlement, said his goals went beyond giving his people additional top jobs. He demanded fundamental changes "in the rest of the byroads of this system." Political byroads can be notoriously difficult to repair, which is one reason expectations were not high for the national reconciliation conference that was to convene in Lausanne, Switzerland, tomorrow. "No one believes in it, but everybody is going," a Beirut newspaper said.

It is hard enough to redesign any political system from top to bottom and redistribute power to groups that have had little. In Lebanon, where there is no consensus on the nation's identity or even whether the country should exist at all, the task seems nearly impossible. To have a chance of working, a new constitution would have to offer major concessions to Mr. Berri's Shiites, the country's largest group, and give more power to the Druse, a small but militarily powerful sect. That would set back the Maronites and other Christians; it would also probably alarm the Sunni Muslims, who are outnumbered by the Shiites. The Sunnis, who are dominant in many Arab countries, are privately worried about their fate in Lebanon.

Many Christians had hoped to save their positions through a deal with the Shiites. Now they fear that Mr. Gemayel has lost the chance for such an accord. After their military victories, the Shiite leaders are demanding far more than they might have a year ago, and they continue to express unhappiness with the President. In a land of minority group politics gone wild, such deals pass by way of the barrel of a gun. During nine years of civil war, the resulting combination of fear and hubris has led to thinking that almost always has doomed compromise. "If you're losing militarily, you're too weak to make concessions. So why negotiate?" a politician said. "And if you're winning, you shouldn't make concessions at all. So why negotiate?"

With three-quarters of the country occupied by Syrian or Israeli troops, some Christian leaders such as former President Camille Chamoun have been saying they would not agree to new political rules until Lebanon was "liberated" from foreign troops. That might be a bargaining ploy, but to some it sounded like a way of saying "never."

There was even doubt about the fate of the Soviet-backed Syrian Government with which Mr. Gemayel made his deal. Reports from Damascus pointed to a potential power struggle to succeed Mr. Assad, who

has been having health problems recently.

Syria is seeking the formation of a Lebanese "government of national unity" that would include a pro-Syrian prime minister. This weekend, opposition leaders met with Syrian officials in Damascus to work out common positions before leaving for the Lausanne talks. This may improve the chances for success, but it does not augur well for Lebanon's future freedom of action. For its part, Israel has warned that it is not ready to negotiate a new, narrower security agreement with Lebanon. There are also mixed signals as to Israel's intentions in southern Lebanon, where its troops face increased hit-and-run attacks by Muslim guerrillas. Israeli officials have talked of keeping troops indefinitely in the south.

One development in Middle East politics seemed out-

side Syrian control and gave Washington some comfort. This was the resumed dialogue between Jordan's King Hussein and Yasir Arafat, the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Yesterday, Mr. Arafat was back in Amman for the second time in two weeks in an effort to arrive at a joint position for a possible negotiation with Israel on the status of the West Bank. Washington has been trying for such an overall peace since 1982.

But in Beirut last week there was no peace. Shooting, sniping and the rumble of mortar and artillery exchanges continued and civilians — the usual victims — got small comfort from the repeated official calls for a cease-fire.

"The basic facts of life," said a Christian leader noted for dispassionate analysis, "are that the sectarian militias are back in control; the central Government is nearly powerless; no one knows what's going to happen next in Syria, and the Israelis don't seem to be sure of what they should do. Anyone who expects the United States to be able to do much about this in the foreseeable future is wrong."



Syria / J. Pavlovsky

## Echoes of war in Baghdad

4

## Along the Border Between Church and State



Students demonstrating for school prayer amendment in Washington last week.

WITH one public opinion poll showing that the vast majority of Americans favor prayer in the schools, it's perhaps not surprising that the distance between church and state seems to be narrowing as Election Day approaches. Appearing before the National Association of Evangelicals in Columbus, Ohio, last week, President Reagan hailed what he called "a great national renewal" that has seen Americans turn away from pornography, drug abuse and sexual promiscuity and turn "back to God." What remained, he went on, was adoption of a constitutional amendment undoing the Supreme Court's 22-year-old ban. "Hasn't something gone haywire when this great Constitution of ours is invoked to allow Nazis and Ku Klux Klansmen to march on public property," Mr. Reagan said, "but it supposedly prevents our children from Bible study or the saying of a simple prayer in their schools?"

Strong words, House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. suggested, especially from a President not known as a churchgoer. (The White House acknowledged Mr. Reagan last attended church services in June, but said that was because he didn't want to subject other worshippers to the distractions of Presidential security.) There was also opposition from some mainstream Christian denominations, several of which are suspicious of the White House influence wielded by TV evangelicals like the Rev. Jerry Falwell, and from Jewish groups. Still, the Reagan speech could put more muscle into what already is the biggest Congressional push yet to legalize school prayer. Although several amendments reached the Senate floor, Majority Leader Howard H. Baker Jr. helped fashion a compromise providing a choice between spoken and silent prayer, in hopes it would win over wavering colleagues. Uncertain whether it would get the required two-thirds majority, Mr. Baker put off a vote. House members, meanwhile, staged an all-night session of pro-prayer speeches.

Prayer advocates were undoubtedly heartened by a Supreme Court decision last week that seemed to rethink the boundaries between religion and government. By a 5-to-4 margin, the Court ruled that a Nativity scene erected by Pawtucket, R.I., rather than promote religion, "depicts the historical origins" of Christmas. The "wall of separation" between church and state, Chief Justice Warren E. Burger wrote, was a "useful figure of speech" but "not a wholly accurate description of the practical aspects of the relationship that in fact exists."



# The Nation

## A Broadside From a Defender Of the Pentagon

On Capitol Hill, some lame ducks go quietly, some don't; John Tower isn't one of the quiet ones.

Testifying last week before the Senate Budget Committee, Mr. Tower, a Republican from Texas who heads the Senate Armed Services panel, in effect told his less expert colleagues to butt out. He complained that in the past Congress had made many ill-considered reductions simply to win points with the voters and that much past waste was not the Pentagon's fault, but was "Congressional mandated."

Later in the week, some budget-deficit negotiators noted that while Mr. Tower might not go along with the spending limits proposed by Senator Pete V. Domenici, the Texan had said some cuts in the military's \$305 billion shopping list for fiscal 1985 were "inevitable." Some thought that this, coming from the Pentagon-oriented Mr. Tower — he will retire from the Senate this year and is said to have considerable interest in serving as Secretary of Defense if there is a second Reagan term — might suggest to Mr. Reagan that compromise might be politically necessary. Participants in talks the President held with Senate Republicans said Mr. Reagan told aides to see if a Pentagon spending agreement could in fact be struck with Mr. Domenici, who heads the Senate budget panel and who, along with other leading Republican Senators, has proposed that the military make do with a 5 percent increase.

Because of the continuing deficit gridlock in Washington and signs of rising interest rates, many analysts say that the economy's recovery might be laid low before the year is out. But Martin S. Feldstein, the chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, regarded by many in the White House as overly concerned about the budget deficit, was decidedly upbeat. While red-ink could have a "very substantial adverse" effect, he said that the economy's growth rate in the first quarter of the year would hit 4.9 percent, a snappy increase over the 4.3 percent registered in the last quarter of 1983. On Friday, the Government reported that the national unemployment rate dropped to 7.7 percent in February, the lowest rate in 2 1/2 years, a further sign that the economy is expanding with vigor.

## Postponing the Vote on Meese

For several members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, reliance on some of the testimony of Edwin Meese 3d depended on the suspension of disbelief. Unable to accomplish that last week, one of them, Senator Howard M. Metzenbaum, moved to postpone the vote on Mr. Meese's nomination as Attorney General; others suggested that the nominee be questioned further.

In a written response to committee inquiries, Mr. Meese said he did not recall having seen some 1980 memos containing inside information on the Carter campaign that were culled from his own files in Washington and some in California and were addressed to him. In response Mr. Metzenbaum's question of whether he knew the Reagan campaign was receiving Carter camp documents, Mr. Meese said he had "no knowledge of any effort" by Reagan aides "to obtain" such information.

Mr. Metzenbaum, who has led the effort to block the Meese appointment, called the responses "unbelievable." Senator Carl Levin, Democrat of Michigan, said Mr. Meese was "significantly unresponsive" and "evasive." Fellow Democrat Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts and a Republican,

Charles McC. Mathias of Maryland joined Mr. Levin in suggesting that Mr. Meese answer more questions before his nomination is approved.

However, with the firm backing of the Judiciary Committee's Republican chairman, Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, the Administration seemed to feel little pressure on the matter. Mr. Meese, whose financial dealings had also been questioned (Mr. Metzenbaum inquired if there was any impropriety in the fact that two California businessmen who helped Mr. Meese out of financial difficulty were subsequently appointed to Administration jobs), made it known that he had nothing further to say to the committee on any subject. And Mr. Reagan said knew of no "nominee that is any more qualified than he is."

Though he didn't appear to have quite given up hope, Mr. Metzenbaum conceded that after the Judiciary Committee votes on Thursday, the Republican dominated Senate would probably approve Mr. Meese.

## Social Plans a Merger Splurge

In the world of big oil and high finance, it seems, a mouse actually can panic an elephant. T. Boone Pickens, chairman of Mesa Petroleum Company, nipped away at the heels of the Gulf Corporation for six months, driving the larger company's management first to distraction and then, last week, into the arms of the Standard Oil Company of California in what is likely to be the biggest corporate merger ever.

Determined not to be pushed into the sort of corporate restructuring sought by Mr. Pickens, who heads a group of investors holding 13 percent of Gulf's stock, Gulf agreed to sell out to Social for \$13.2 billion, or \$80 a share, in cash. Although the transaction would make Social the nation's third largest oil company, industry analysts said the Federal Trade Commission was likely to approve the deal on the condition that Social sell off some of Gulf's refining and marketing operations. That would be fine with Social, which indicated its main interest was in Gulf's 2 billion barrels of "proven petroleum" reserves. But some in Washington criticized the deal as furthering an industry trend toward buying previously discovered oil reserves rather than exploring for new ones.

J. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana, the ranking Democrat on the Senate Energy Committee, said it was "decidedly not in the public interest" for oil companies to thus "divert funds from more useful endeavors such as drilling for more oil." He vowed to stop the participants in the deal "dead in their tracks." Mr. Pickens, who had hoped merely to force a restructuring that would divert more of Gulf's cash flow to shareholders, seemed unconcerned. When the dust settles, his group stands to make \$761 million on the 21.7 million Gulf shares it purchased at an average of \$45 a share.

## A Ruling Against Baylor

An attorney for the Baylor College of Medicine once called the case a frivolous effort to publicize "pro-Jewish or anti-Arab causes," but a Federal judge ruled last week that when Baylor excluded two Jewish doctors from a lucrative assignment in Saudi Arabia it was a matter of deliberate discrimination.

Federal District Judge James DeAnda ordered the Houston, Tex., college to pay the doctors more than \$400,000 in compensatory damages. The plaintiffs, specialists in cardiovascular surgery, had claimed that by barring them from a three-month tour at the King Faisal Specialist Hospital and Research Center, in Riyadh, the college had violated provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and antidiscrimination sections of the Export Administration Act of 1979. A Baylor spokesman said an appeal was being considered.

In his sharply worded 32-page ruling, Judge DeAnda said the college had gone out of its way to meet an unstated but assumed condition of employment — that Jewish physicians were not acceptable. Two Baylor administrators, the judge noted, had testified that "they were of the opinion that Jews could not participate in the King Faisal program because they believe the Saudi Government would not allow Jews to enter the country." The college, Judge DeAnda said, had failed to take "appropriate steps" to determine what the Saudi policy was and, in one case, had transferred a plaintiff from one Baylor facility to another because of "official displeasure" with his complaints.

The judge concluded that the evidence left the "firm impression the implicit reason behind Baylor's exclusion of Jews from the program was the desire to avoid 'rocking the boat' vis-à-vis the Saudis."

Carlyle C. Douglas,  
Michael Wright  
and Caroline Rand Heron

## Jackson Banks On Dividends From Voter Registration Drives



The Rev. Jesse Jackson leading students and supporters to a courthouse in Jackson, Miss., to register to vote.

## The Rainbow Coalition's Hazy Future

By FAY S. JOYCE

WEST PALM BEACH, Fla. — Any of the other candidates for the Democratic Presidential nomination could wind up with nothing more to show for the effort than a fistful of hotel bills.

But for the Rev. Jesse Jackson, long something of a maverick civil rights leader, the stakes have always been different. Many analysts say he could still walk away from this political season as the nation's premier black leader.

To a large extent, Mr. Jackson's future is likely to be shaped by decisions made by black voters in the run of primaries and caucuses that begin Tuesday, from the rolling hills of the South to the industrial cities of the North. In Georgia and Alabama, 21 and 23 percent of the registered voters respectively are black. If they turn out in large numbers this Tuesday and cast a large proportion of their ballots for Mr. Jackson, he will gain in stature. And that will be doubly true if blacks in Mississippi, South Carolina, Michigan and Arkansas follow suit in caucuses on Saturday.

If they do not turn out in large numbers for Mr. Jackson, however, he will have a harder time convincing party leaders and the eventual Democratic nominee that his demands must be addressed. Moreover, the personal stakes seem especially high now because of Mr. Jackson's belated admission that he had used derogatory terms in referring to Jews, an important bloc in the Democratic Party. Some black politicians say the remarks — he called Jews "Hymies" and referred to New York City as "Hymietown" — may even have damaged his standing among Southern blacks, who were long the targets of prejudice and are reluctant to identify with such expressions themselves.

Mr. Jackson is a bold man and he has set high expectations for himself in Alabama, where he continues to predict victory, and where the other candidates, with the exception of George McGovern, are contesting vigorously as well. Public opinion polls have not supported Mr. Jackson's optimism; a Birmingham newspaper survey showed him in third place with 15 percent, behind Walter F. Mondale and Colorado Senator Gary Hart. Political observers say Mr. Hart's sprint is affecting Alabama and other states, however, and it is difficult to tell what will happen.

### A Pitch to the Poor

Many members of the black political and religious establishment in Alabama and Georgia have endorsed Mr. Mondale. Mr. Jackson is bucking them and their argument that a vote for him is a vote thrown away, as he appeals to black pride. Many believe that Mr. Jackson may do well among students but that older, middle-class blacks are believed likely to give a higher priority to selecting a candidate who could defeat President Reagan.

Mr. Jackson's campaign has been coupled with a concerted voter registration drive in the South. While it is impossible to say how many people he has inspired to sign up, the Voter Education Project reports that 200,000 blacks in 11 southern states were added to the rolls in 1983, an extraordinary number for an off-election year.

He will need as many of those votes as he can get in the coming primaries, and not just for reasons of prestige. His campaign has spent almost all of the \$960,000 it has raised, and Mr. Jackson himself is the chief fund-raiser when white-gloved ushers pass the hat at his speeches. Federal marching funds have provided him with a cushion; he has been certified to receive \$388,355

so far. But because he has failed to draw 10 percent of the vote in two successive primaries, he will lose his eligibility for assistance on April 6 unless he wins at least 20 percent of the vote in a primary before then. In Vermont last week, he finished third, with only 8 percent of the vote.

Mindful of the importance of Tuesday's outcome, Mr. Jackson has become unusually harsh in his attacks on President Reagan, Mr. Mondale and a new target, the surging Mr. Hart.

At the same time, his campaign, never known for being well organized to start with, has been plagued by even more breakdowns than usual. Mr. Jackson had to cancel four appearances in the Middle West last week because of logistical difficulties. Then his new chartered airplane broke down in Anniston, Ala., leaving candidate and entourage temporarily stranded. When he finally reached Montgomery, Ala., on Thursday night, Mr. Jackson accused Mr. Mondale of "hiding behind" Hubert Humphrey rather than opposing the Vietnam War. He also criticized Mr. Reagan for "advocating prayer in the schools" when "he's not even a regular churchgoer."

Although he is a regular churchgoer, Mr. Jackson himself does not attend church on Sundays except to appear in the pulpit, and he campaigns just as hard on the Sabbath as on weekdays. "I'm in church all week," Mr. Jackson explained with a laugh, referring to his campaign appearances. "I'm always preaching."

Regardless of how far he gets on the campaign trail, Mr. Jackson appears to have helped himself. Even black officeholders who are supporting Mr. Mondale concede that Mr. Jackson has enhanced his status as a black spokesman, especially by holding his own in the Presidential debates. The question is, how much of a constituency can he marshal?

## Congress May Prohibit Sex Discrimination by Schools Getting Grants

## Trying to Tie Strings to Federal Aid

By ROBERT PEAR

WASHINGTON — When the Supreme Court interpreted the law banning sex discrimination in schools and colleges, the Reagan Administration and civil rights groups could not even agree whether the ruling was a victory or a setback for women.

Judy Goldsmith, president of the National Organization for Women, called it a "stunning setback." Representative Claudine Schneider, Republican of Rhode Island, called the decision "shocking and abhorrent," on the ground that it narrowed application of the law to specific programs that received federal aid, while permitting discrimination in other programs at the same institution.

But William Bradford Reynolds, the Assistant Attorney General for civil rights, said the decision, in the case of Grove City College in Pennsylvania, was a major victory for women. The Court decision on Feb. 28, he said, upheld the Justice Department's contention that the antidiscrimination law applied to all of a college's financial aid programs, including its own scholarships, if the college received federal money indirectly through grants to its students.

There appears to be some truth on both sides of the argument. The Court's decision guarantees that virtually every school and college will now be covered by the law. But, legal authorities agree, it also limits the scope of coverage within each institution.

In Congress, the drive to overturn key parts of the decision gained momentum last week. Seventy-five Democrats and 32 Republicans joined Mrs. Schneider in co-sponsoring a bill to insure that the law prohibits sex discrimination in all programs at an institution receiving federal aid of any kind. In the Senate, Bob Packwood, Republican of Oregon, introduced a similar bill. Mr. Reynolds, without endorsing any particular proposal, said the Administration did not object, in principle, to broader coverage. Members of Congress and their aides said the legislation seemed to have a good chance of passage this year.

In a memorandum to Education Secretary T. H. Bell last year, Mr. Reynolds gave concrete examples of how the law should be enforced. The same policy, he said, applies to enforcement of the laws forbidding discrimination on the basis of

race or handicap in schools and colleges receiving federal aid.

If, he said, a school receives federal money only for its library or adult education program, then only those programs may be regulated and investigated by the Government. But if a school building has been erected or renovated with federal funds, Mr. Reynolds said, the Government may investigate a complaint of discrimination in any activity conducted in the building.

Associate Justice William J. Brennan Jr., dissenting from the majority opinion, said it led to the absurd conclusion that Grove City College could legally discriminate against women in its admissions, its athletic programs and even its academic departments. But Justice Department officials said there was no basis for such alarm. They concluded that discrimination in admissions "infects the entire institution" and can lead to the cutoff of federal aid in any program. Moreover, they said, the ruling means that colleges may no longer discriminate against women in awarding athletic scholarships.

Under federal law, the termination of federal aid must be limited to "the particular program, or part thereof" where discrimination was found. In a 1969 case involving black students in Florida, the Supreme Court stressed that this provision "was not for the protection of the political entity whose funds might be cut off, but for the protection of the innocent beneficiaries of programs not tainted by discriminatory practices."

The Court said then that the Federal Government may cut off funds to a school if the money supports a program that is "infected by a discriminatory environment." But, it said, the payments should continue if the program is "effectively insulated from otherwise unlawful activities," because "Congress did not intend that such a program suffer for the sins of others."

At stake in all these cases is the power of the Government to enforce the law as it applies to private schools and colleges receiving public



Students at Grove City College in Pennsylvania reading Supreme Court decision during a lunch break.

money. "With acceptance of such assistance," Associate Justice Lewis F. Powell Jr. said, "one surrenders a certain measure of the freedom that Americans always have cherished."

Mr. Reynolds contends that the Federal Government has been enforcing the law against race discrimination in a narrow, "program-specific" manner since the Court's 1969 decision. But Mary Frances Barry, a member of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, sharply disputed that contention; she said the Administration's interpretation of the law has been significantly narrower than that of its predecessors. Even if key portions of the civil rights laws are "program-specific," she said, previous administrations defined "program" more broadly.

Lawyers say there will almost certainly be more cases testing the limits of the law. The Grove City case was, in a sense, an oddity. The college was never accused of discriminating; it just refused to sign federal forms promising compliance. The college refused to take direct federal aid because it wanted to preserve its "institutional autonomy." In this respect, it differed from most schools, which seek every dollar of federal aid they can get.



Senator Howard M. Metzenbaum at Senate Judiciary Committee hearing last week.



# The World

## Congress Derails Central America Aid Express

The Administration's effort to rush new military aid to Central America was set back last week. Bypassing the usual route through the Senate Foreign Relations and Intelligence Committees, the White House tried to obtain \$21 million for the Nicaraguan rebels by tacking a last-minute amendment onto an unrelated money bill. The Senate Appropriations Committee voted 15 to 14 to reject the Nicaragua amendment. Senators, including some Republicans who voted for the measure, said they were upset by the Administration's tactics.

The Appropriations Committee postponed consideration of a related request for \$93 million in emergency military aid for El Salvador. The Administration says the Salvadoran Government forces are running out of weapons. Some members of Congress argue that the Administration policy is not working and that aid should be curtailed unless El Salvador curbs human rights abuses.

President Reagan insisted that continuing aid to El Salvador was vital. In addition to direct help, small-scale American maneuvers in Honduras are among measures being taken to discourage what a State Department spokesman said was a guerrilla threat to disrupt the election March 25 through terror.

In Nicaragua, the Government ac-

cused the Central Intelligence Agency and Honduras of increasing direct aid to the rebels. Nicaragua blamed such assistance for insurgent air and sea strikes against a military base.

## Ottawa Wins On Offshore Oil

Newfoundland, the youngest, poorest and most isolated member of the Canadian federation, has long seen in oil deposits off its coast a way to redress the economic balance, strike a blow for provincial rights, and stop living on federal handouts. But last week after a protracted battle in which six of the 10 provinces backed Newfoundland, the Canadian Supreme Court ruled that the federal Government owned and controlled the offshore riches. The court upheld in effect Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau's contention that Ottawa bears primary responsibility for the national interest.

The immediate economic stake was the huge Hibernia oil field, 175 miles east of Newfoundland, with reserves estimated at 1.5 billion barrels, and perhaps as much as 13 billion barrels when the area around Hibernia is included. While Ottawa and Newfoundland battled for jurisdiction, development, which may involve an investment of some \$10 billion, had been held up by a group headed by Mobil Oil.

Although the court fight has ended, arrangements between Ottawa and



Student in Garwolin, Poland, at mass protesting removal of crucifixes from agriculture school.

Newfoundland on such matters as management of the fields and the sharing of revenue from them will still have to be worked out. "I think we'll still continue to fight," predicted a spokesman for Brian Peckford, the scrappy provincial premier. As a proponent of provincial rights, Mr. Peckford has been almost as much a thorn in Mr. Trudeau's side as Premier René Lévesque of Quebec although, unlike Mr. Lévesque, Mr. Peckford has never championed secession.

## Cultists Riot In Nigeria

Followers of an Islamic cult leader have touched off new violence resulting in hundreds of deaths in northeastern Nigeria, where religious fundamentalism and economic hardship have again proved to be a dangerously volatile mixture. Police officials said last week that 335 people had been killed since Feb. 27 in rioting in the town of Yola, nearly 1,000

miles from Lagos, the capital. A Government-owned newspaper, The New Nigerian, said more than 1,000 people had been killed.

The latest violence, the third outbreak in three years, was blamed on followers of Maitatsine, or Mallam Muhammadu Marwa, who was killed in earlier clashes in 1981. His followers claim that Maitatsine, and not Mohammed, is the true prophet of Allah. They attack those who show outward signs of material wealth — like wristwatches and jewelry — as heretics.

In the earlier rioting, they were armed with bows and arrows and spears and reportedly with magic powders, reflecting the cross-influences of animist beliefs in that part of Africa. But this time, police officers said the cult followers were armed with sophisticated weapons, lending credence to allegations that Libya has financed religious fundamentalist dissidents in Nigeria's north. Troops were sent in after at least four policemen were killed.

## 'No Poland Without a Cross'

The issue of religion in public institutions is particularly dramatic in Poland, where a devout population frequently looks to the Roman Catholic Church as a bulwark against the state. Last week, 3,000 students, many of them in tears, gathered in a rural church to protest the removal of crosses from their schoolrooms.

The crucifixes were first removed from a state-run agricultural college in Garwolin, 40 miles from Warsaw, last December when the Communist Government declared that hanging such a symbol in public schools and hospitals violated the principle of church-state separation. An attempt by the director of the agricultural school to enforce the directive led to a student strike and sit-in which in turn led to the school's closing. The protest spread to other schools in the area and to a morning-long mass. The church was surrounded by riot policemen and afterward a priest de-

clared: "They were not Poles who came at us innocents with riot sticks, helmets, guns and gas. They were not Poles, they were enemies. There is no Poland without a cross."

Yesterday, thousands of teenagers gathered in Czeszochowa to worship before the Black Madonna, Poland's holiest shrine, in a further protest against what one bishop called "the war against the crosses."

In addition to religious sensibilities, the state took on the intellectual community again last week with the arrest of Marek Nowakowski, one of Poland's best-known writers, who was accused of cooperating with "Western organizations" against the Government. One of Mr. Nowakowski's recent works, a bitterly funny "Report on Martial Law," has highly active underground press.

## A Boomerang In Namibia

South Africa last week launched a political sortie against the Soviet-armed insurgency that is seeking independence for South-West Africa. But Pretoria's chosen weapon, Herman Toivo y Toivo, the founder of the South-West Africa People's Organi-

zation, seemed to be balking.

The authorities gave Mr. Toivo, who was released after 16 years in prison, travel documents so he could meet the insurgents' leader, Sam Nujoma. Pretoria, Mr. Toivo suggested, may expect him to spread confusion among the insurgents; he was careful not to say anything that was likely to annoy Mr. Nujoma.

Another possible Government goal, Mr. Toivo told a New York Times correspondent, might be to bolster the political parties that Pretoria would like to see in power in the territory, if South-West Africa, or Namibia, becomes independent. These parties had called for Mr. Toivo's release, but last week he rejected any ties with them.

As for Mr. Nujoma, South African military authorities said 800 of his well-armed followers had infiltrated back into Namibia from Angola in recent weeks and might be planning attacks on some of the territory's 75,000 white residents in a population of 1.1 million. Such attacks could upset the American-sponsored truce along Namibia's border. Washington hopes the truce will lead to withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Henry Ginzler and Milt Freudenheim

## Verbatim: Shultz on El Salvador

Secretary of State George P. Shultz

In a heated discussion with members of a House Appropriations subcommittee who argued that the human rights situation in El Salvador had not improved and advocated tighter conditions on American aid:

"I really don't understand you people. Here we have an area, right next to us, which a cross section of Americans on a bipartisan commission have studied carefully, really worked at, (and) have concluded is in the vital interests of the United States. There are problems there. We all know that. What you're telling me is that because there are problems, let's walk away."

## Torn by Division, Protest Groups Search for New Causes and Members

# Germany's Anti-Missile Movement Has Lost Its Thrust

By JAMES M. MARKHAM

BONN — At Mutlangen in southern Germany, a knot of forlorn figures stands in the snow outside an American Pershing 2 missile base, bearing placards predicting nuclear doom. One is a shaven Buddhist monk from Hiroshima, who may be deported because of passport irregularities. On slow news days, West German television crews occasionally shoot footage of these doleful remnants of the lost campaign against the deployment of medium-range missiles in Western Europe. Otherwise, they are ignored.

The coalition that spearheaded the anti-missile movement last fall has retreated to its winter quarters. When it re-emerges in the spring for traditional Easter marches, it seems likely to be considerably more divided and uncertain of its targets. Many militants are disillusioned. "I've noticed an incredible weakening of the peace movement," lamented Petra Kelly, the founder of the anti-establishment Greens, who recounted how only 60 people showed up for a recent rally in Bonn.

Events have conspired against those who had predicted apocalypse when the first Pershing 2's went into Mutlangen in November. Instead of worsening, relations between West Germany and Communist East Germany

have improved in the post-deployment months. The biggest legally sanctioned flood of East German emigrants since the erection of the Berlin wall in 1961 is now swamping a reception center near Frankfurt. Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Erich Honecker, the East German party leader, met in Moscow at Yuri V. Andropov's funeral and agreed to pursue German-German détente. The fortuitously timed leadership change in Moscow and softened rhetoric in Washington have raised hopes of a less frosty East-West climate. This in turn deprives Western European demonstrations of their do-or-die resonances.

The biggest anti-missile coalition in Western Europe, the West German movement has started to fall apart. Last month, a strategy session in Cologne nearly broke up when Greens delegates pressed for a resolution condemning East Germany for jailing its own independent pacifists. Delegates from the tiny pro-Soviet German Communist Party, which last autumn furnished more than its share of envelope-lickers and poster-stickers, opposed this step, forcing a compromise that skirted mention of East Germany by name. Resentment over the Communists' outside role in the coalition is sharpening, particularly since the party patched together its own "peace list" for the European parliament elections in June. "In the peace movement there is a growing criticism of the Soviet Union," said Walter Jens, a Tübingen

University professor. "There is a feeling that the Soviet Union is in the hands of the military."

A sense of demobilization has similarly crept into Britain's antinuclear movement, which last autumn brought the second largest crowds into the streets of Western Europe. About 100 women still keep a vigil outside the gates of the Greenham Common base, preventing the United States Air Force from maneuvering its newly stationed cruise missiles in the English countryside. The venerable Committee for Nuclear Disarmament, which claims 86,000 dues-paying members, is planning Easter marches to call attention to the role that American bases would play in the case of a nuclear alert. But few anticipate that these demonstrations will be large. Only in the Netherlands, where the center-right Government is expected to make a decision sometime in May or June on the deployment of cruise missiles, is the anti-missile coalition still fully mobilized. It plans a series of spring demonstrations.

## A Search for Themes

Elsewhere in Western Europe, militants are groping for new themes that will again arouse the kind of mass following that converts into pressure on governments. "We are not just atomic pacifists," insisted Jo Leinen, a pivotal figure in the West German movement's coordi-

nating committee. Mr. Leinen has tried to focus discussion on the allegedly "aggressive" strategy embodied in American military concepts such as Airland Battle 2000, which proposes counterattacking behind Warsaw Pact lines should NATO be attacked.

The West German quest for new themes has not yet produced anything more galvanizing than a "popular referendum" against continuing deployment. It is to be conducted at the time of the European parliamentary elections on June 17. Coalition pollsters will collect names and addresses outside regular voting booths and then mail ballots to people who sign up. An appeal by Günter Grass and other writers to draft-age Germans to plump for conscientious objector status has so far had little discernible impact. With unemployment high, military enrollment is at an all-time high, and the number of registered conscientious objectors has dropped.

The continuing lull has freed Chancellor Kohl's Government from pressure from the street. Karl Kaiser, director of a respected Bonn research institute, maintains that with a bit of luck, West Germany might stitch together a new, post-deployment foreign policy consensus. "This assumes," he warned, "that the movement toward the center in the American Administration is genuine and will be continuing. If we have any further surprises in Washington, we will be in trouble."

## East-West Negotiations on European Troop Cuts Resume This Week in Vienna

# The White House Keeps Arms Control on a Back Burner

By LESLIE H. GELB

WASHINGTON — For weeks now, Administration officials have been stressing their continuing informal dialogue with Moscow and touting the chances for movement on arms control. Soviet officials have deprecated this view, insisting that President Reagan is trying, for his own political reasons, to make it look as if something is going on. Last week, Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger said the Administration hasn't had "the slightest indication" that the Russians want to resume talks on limiting nuclear weapons "on any basis."

There is a great deal at stake. It is difficult for most experts to imagine diffusing Soviet-American tensions without progress on the arms control front. West European confidence in American foreign policy leadership hinges, in good part, on whether Washington is seen as being able to manage East-West arms competition. The Presidential election could turn, to some degree, on the public's reaction to a Reagan record of four years of heavy military expenditures, with no new agreements to limit arms and none in prospect. The stated purpose of the buildup was to close the purported military gap with Moscow and thus create the basis for serious bargaining.

On Friday, Soviet and American negotiators, with their allies, will resume talks in Vienna on reducing troops in central Europe. Aside from the discussion in Geneva on eliminating chemical weapons, the Vienna meeting is the only arms control game going. In both discussions, the Russians recently accepted the principle of on-site inspections. Diplomats in Washington think this concession could lead to progress on chemical weapons, where verification is the major stumbling block. But in the Vienna troop deliberations, where the issues are far more complex, not much is expected.

Both of those sets of talks are multilateral; every bilateral Soviet-American negotiating forum has been abandoned or is in abeyance. In December, the Russians walked out on the talks about medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. They vowed not to return until Washington agreed to withdraw its new Pershing 2 missiles in West Germany. And they recessed the talks on strategic arms without setting a date for resumption.

None of the other bilateral talks carried forward by the Carter Administration have been continued by Mr. Reagan. There have been no discussions since 1980 on a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing or on banning an-



Polish, Soviet and East German infantrymen boarding helicopters during Warsaw Pact military exercises in Poland last month.

Associated Press

tisatellite weapons. Top Reagan Administration officials argue that neither can be adequately verified. Other arms control experts disagree. Worries about verification run through most Administration thinking about arms control. Recently, Mr. Reagan has raised serious questions about Moscow's compliance with existing treaties, including several that the United States refuses to ratify, such as the 1979 accord on strategic weapons.

Verification aside, many senior Administration officials make no secret of their general skepticism. They see arms control mainly as a Soviet device to undercut public support for the Pentagon budget. Nonetheless, in response to allied and domestic pressure and — according to Administration officials — a Reagan change of heart about the value of arms control, they have returned to several negotiating tables.

Their least favorite is the one to which they are returning this week in Vienna. Like previous Administra-

tions and many British and French officials, they see questionable value in withdrawing American troops thousands of miles when the Russians would be moving back only hundreds. But to West Germany, where most American troops are stationed, the Vienna talks are very important. To meet some of Bonn's concerns, Mr. Reagan recently modified the Western bargaining position. The new approach was intended to ease the deadlock over troop totals (Western intelligence shows the Soviet Union and its allies with 180,000 more troops than they admit to) by proposing to count military units rather than individual soldiers. Combat units are far easier to keep track of than individuals. However, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who visited Mr. Reagan last week, was not satisfied, officials said.

Far more important to both the Administration and Bonn is the resumption of the talks on medium- and long-range nuclear weapons. The State Department wants to

combine these talks and to put forward a compromise between the Soviet and American approaches. Officials say that if Moscow will only agree to come back to the bargaining table, they can press for Mr. Reagan's acceptance of State's proposals. Some of these officials say that Moscow may be coming around. They cite positive statements about détente by Konstantin U. Chernenko, the new Soviet leader. They have many theories about new power struggles in the Kremlin over proposals to ease relations with Washington. But they offer no evidence and the Russians still say it is up to Mr. Reagan to make the next move. Mr. Kohl also pushed Mr. Reagan to meet soon with the new Soviet leader but the White House repeated its longstanding view that the meeting would have to be well-prepared and have good chances for success.

There matters stand for now: Each side is waiting for the other to go first, mutual trust is lacking and there is no movement on arms control.



## Washington Charged Last Week That Iraq Used Chemical Weapons Against Iran

## In Baghdad, No News Is Probably Bad News

By HENRY KAMM

BAGHDAD, Iraq — Posters and slogans, as well as omnipresent portraits of President Saddam Hussein in a variety of uniforms, are not enough to give the Iraqi capital a bellicose air. The principal impression is of drabness enhanced, not relieved, by the garish personality cult. Underneath, diplomats sense a morose weariness and a growing belief that the war with Iran, now well into its fourth year, cannot be won by either side.

A visitor notes above all a pervasive reticence on the part of Iraqis, except for Information Ministry officials and generals who purvey obligatory confidence in ultimate victory. The tight-lipped citizens of Baghdad or Basra make the citizens of the Soviet Union or of other restrictive countries seem garrulous by comparison. Iraq recently allowed foreign journalists in to report its recent battlefield victories, but they have not succeeded in penetrating the nation's state of mind.

Even diplomats of long residence who understand Arabic admit that they base their conclusions less on what the Iraqis say than on the people's increased unwillingness to talk about the war. Official optimism finds no popular echo. The people know that life has become harder, that expansive development programs based on the Middle East's second largest petroleum reserves have faltered, and that on the border, it is the Iranian Army, not theirs, that retains the initiative.

In this atmosphere, President Hussein last week angrily rejected accusations by the United States and other Western countries, the International Red Cross and physicians in Sweden and Austria that Iraq has used chemical weapons — a euphemism for poison gas — against Iranian troops. The American criticism cast the first serious shadow on a relationship that has been showing quiet but dramatic improvement.

Propelled largely by shared hostility to Iran and concern about the consequences of Teheran's policies, Washington and Baghdad have drawn closer than they had been since the 1950's, when John Foster Dulles made the then-conservative Iraqi regime a linchpin of American policy in the region. This quiet flourishing of relations has taken place despite the rupture of diplomatic ties by Iraq when Washington supported Israel in the 1967 war. Before last week's condemnation, officials of the American Interest Section in the Belgian Embassy were say-



Sygma / Jacques Perle

ing that relations had become normal in all but name, with easy American access to senior Iraqi leaders.

President Reagan's statement that an Iraqi defeat would not be in American interest and his suggestion that the United States would take military action if Iran attempted to close the Strait of Hormuz made clear a diplomatic "tilt" toward Iraq. Commodity credits totaling \$840 million over two years were a significant mark of American sympathy for Iraq, a food-importing nation with severe foreign exchange problems.

## Soviet Help Resumes

In view of this developing relationship, Western diplomats were surprised when the United States took the lead in condemning Iraq. Some diplomats believe that Washington, having accused the Soviet Union of using prohibited weapons in Afghanistan, and Vietnam of doing so in Laos, wanted to prove its evenhandedness. Others believe that the Reagan Administration, in an election year, condemned Iraq's conduct of warfare to head off criticism by voters who have noted no relenting in Iraq's extreme hostility to Israel, which Iraqi officials always refer to as "the Zionist entity." Israel and "Zion-

ist agents" throughout the world are repeatedly accused of strategic and diplomatic collusion with Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

Diplomats emphasized that rapprochement with Washington has not meant any cooling in Iraq's close ties with the Soviet Union, which continues to supply 70 percent of Baghdad's military needs. In an effort to preserve minimal relations with Iran, the Soviet Union cut off these sales in 1980 when Iraq began the war and carried it deeply into Iran. Soviet sales resumed in 1982 after Iran drove the invaders out and went onto the offensive.

Last week, Tass, the Soviet press agency, accused the United States of "creating a grave threat to peace and international security" in the Persian Gulf. The Soviet Union, Tass said, rejected the Pentagon's warning that ships coming within five miles of Navy ships in the Gulf or planes approaching below 2,000 feet "may be held at risk."

When the Soviet leader, Yuri V. Andropov, died, President Hussein proclaimed three days of national mourning, a tribute not accorded to his predecessor, Leonid I. Brezhnev. But Iraq remains anti-Communist, not ideologically influenced by Moscow. Its drawing closer to

the United States and continuing good relations with Western Europe, the major supplier for economic development, has for the first time given reality to Iraq's professed policy of active neutrality between East and West.

The new friendliness toward the United States has a parallel in Baghdad's significant shift from sharp-tongued radicalism to moderation in the Arab world. Iraq led the movement to ostracize Egypt after the Camp David agreement with Israel in 1978; it now leads the campaign to bring Cairo back. "Don't look for principle," a European diplomat cautioned.

Egypt has given Iraq strong support — 15,000 volunteers serving in military capacities, and arms and intelligence cooperation. Jordan, too, is believed to be providing some military assistance. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the Persian Gulf emirates, which lived in apprehension of Iraq in its radical days, provide generous financial support, perhaps \$10 billion a year. Clearly they fear today's Iran more than today's Iraq. But diplomats in Baghdad, by and large, are not yet ready to join those, including some Americans, who believe that Iraq's moderation will last longer than its war with Teheran. And no one will speculate on how long that war will continue.

## Davis Cup Diplomacy Could Blossom With the 1988 Olympics

## China's Quiet Courtship of South Korea

By CHRISTOPHER WREN

PEKING — China likes to call its relations with neighboring North Korea as close as lips and teeth, but Peking seemed to be taking a step in another direction early this month when a South Korean tennis team visited the southern Chinese city of Kunming for a Davis Cup match with a Chinese team.

It was not quite the ping-pong diplomacy of 1971, when a visit by American table tennis players presaged the eventual normalization of relations between China and the United States. Yet the significance of eight South Koreans hitting tennis balls on the Chinese mainland was not lost in a country where virtually every action is weighed for its political effect. Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone told a parliamentary committee last week that the Kunming tennis match was a significant event in Asia and indicated that he would urge more exchanges between China and South Korea during his visit to Peking later this month. In Seoul, Lee Won Kyung, the South Korean Foreign Minister, predicted that further nonpolitical contacts would be a natural trend.

The South Korean presence went conspicuously unreported in the official Chinese press until China's 4-1 victory last Sunday was tersely noted by the New China press agency. The event was held far from the capital though Kunming, at 5,700 feet above sea level, may have been picked to give the acclimatized home team an advantage. The low profile accorded the visit was consist-

ent with China's desire not to upset North Korea, and particularly President Kim Il Sung, whose blatant cult of personality has otherwise been hard for the Chinese leadership to swallow. But the tennis competition suggested that contacts with the south would continue, not least because of mutual concern about the stability of the Korean peninsula.

The old hostility of the Korean war, when Chinese "volunteers" fought for the North, has given way in recent years to a pragmatic coexistence. Chinese-South Korean trade through Hong Kong climbed, by some estimates, as high as \$600 million in 1980, as Chinese anthracite coal was sold for South Korean television sets and synthetic textiles. The Chinese side curbed such indirect commerce two years ago, partly because North Korea complained but also because China started producing more of its own consumer products.

The first official contacts took place last May when a delegation from the China Civil Aviation Administration went to Seoul for amiable discussions that led to the return of a hijacked Chinese airliner with its crew and passengers, though not the hijackers. In August, South Korea began letting Chinese airliners fly over its territory on the way to Japan.

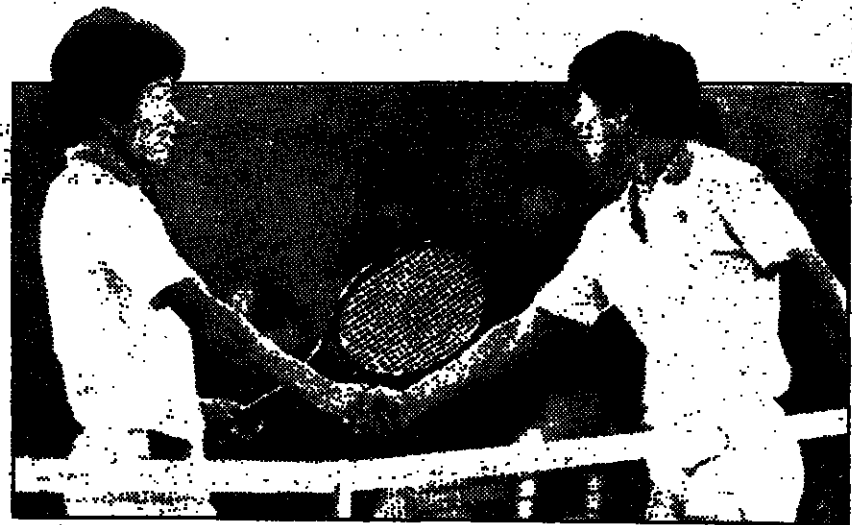
Peking has insisted that contacts remain otherwise unofficial. A few South Korean delegates attended international conferences in China last year, and some tourists have come to see relatives among China's ethnic Korean minority. Chinese officials have gone quietly to South Korea to look at its considerable industrial devel-

opment. Such exchanges have involved little more than a few dozen people.

By contrast, China publicizes its embrace of North Korea, which it wants to prevent from drifting into the Soviet orbit. China routinely endorses North Korea's demands for a withdrawal of American troops from the south and has supplied the North Koreans with MIG-21 jet fighters as well as raw materials. It has supported Pyongyang's call for a meeting between the two Koreas and the United States on reunification while refusing to be involved itself.

Peking's caution reflects its concern about the risk of another war on the Korean peninsula. China has pledged to aid North Korea, but such hostilities would harm the Chinese modernization campaign and disrupt efforts to get advanced technology from the West. China's party secretary, Hu Yaobang, said in Tokyo last November that Kim Il Sung had assured him that the North would never invade the South, confirming reports that China had urged restraint.

Further contacts between China and South Korea seem inevitable because Seoul is the host of both the 1986 Asian games and the 1988 summer Olympics. The Chinese coyly refrained from saying whether they would attend, but they are not likely to pass up such opportunities to display their growing athletic prowess. A Chinese



Tennis players from South Korea and China at a match in Kunming, China, earlier this month.

sports minister is expected at an Olympic council meeting in Seoul next month.

Both countries have motives for making at least a tacit peace. South Korea welcomes any opportunity to outflank the North as well as enhance its own security. For China, any contact at all helps to drive a wedge between Taiwan and South Korea, the only significant Asian country that maintains diplomatic ties with the Nationalist regime in Taipei.

Yet there is little prospect that the thaw will lead to formal Chinese recognition of South Korea so long as China feels compelled to placate North Korea. Peking's loyalty was sorely tested last October after North Korean agents blew up a South Korean delegation in Burma, killing 17 officials. Rangoon severed diplomatic relations with North Korea, and most other Asian countries joined in blaming Pyongyang for the bombing. China, in the best tradition of lips-and-teeth, kept its mouth shut.

## Parliamentary Voting Is a Key to Rebuilding a Faltering Economy

## New Election Law Could Keep Philippines on the Up and Up

By ROBERT TRUMBULL

MANILA — Philippine elections have often been marked by fraud and violence, but in most instances the winners were usually the choice of the majority. The last two elections under President Ferdinand E. Marcos have been described by critics as the most "blatantly rigged" of all. Mr. Marcos, who has been politically besieged since last summer, has a strong interest in seeing that the assembly elections on May 14, are, in the words of the opposition, "clean and fair," at least in appearance.

The Philippines is in financial straits, with an external debt of more than \$25 billion. The remedy — wholesale debt restructuring, new loans and capital investment — depends upon restoring the confidence of foreign bankers and investors in political stability. They have been wary since the assassination in August of Benigno S. Aquino Jr., the opposition leader, and the upheaval that followed. Fair elections in May would reduce the prospect of serious civil unrest. Significantly, foreign creditor banks and the International Monetary Fund have postponed action on Manila's urgent plea for assistance until June, well after the election.

Faced with internal as well as external pressures, Mr. Marcos has yielded to opposition demands for electoral reforms designed to obviate at least the most glaring abuses that might occur in the election of a new National Assembly. The outgoing assembly, which was dominated by Mr. Marcos's ruling party, the New Society Movement, recently approved a new election code that Jose Concepcion Jr., head of the broadly based National



Opposition leaders Joker Arroyo (left), Lorenzo Tanada and former President Diosdado Macapagal at march in Manila urging boycott of elections scheduled for May.

Citizens Movement for Free Elections, called "one of the best I have seen."

The new code removes, at least for this election, what the opposition regarded as the most intimidating weapon in the Government's political arsenal. This was the series of presidential decrees empowering Mr. Marcos to order the arrest and indefinite detention, without trial or the right to habeas corpus, of people suspected of subversive activities. These powers can no longer be invoked for actions or statements in the coming campaign.

How the code works out "will depend upon its implementation," said Mr. Concepcion, a wealthy flour miller whose prominence in the preparations for the election, like that of many other leading industrialists, is symptomatic of the new mood in the Philippines. The Aquino assassination unleashed anti-Government feelings that had been bottled up for more than a decade of repressive rule under Mr. Marcos.

## Marcos's Concessions

The outcome of the May election could be crucial to Mr. Marcos, although his own tenure in office, which runs to 1987, will be unaffected. A substantial parliamentary opposition could force him into a drastic modification of his authoritarian style.

Salvador H. Laurel, the former senator who heads a coalition of 12 opposition parties called the United Nationalist Democratic Organization, insists that the forces opposed to Mr. Marcos can easily win a majority in Parliament if the elections are really "clean and fair." Less optimistic, Mr. Concepcion sees the opposition taking 40

percent of the seats at best.

In the furor over the Aquino killing, and the economic squeeze that has followed, the ailing 66-year-old President has made significant concessions to his opposition. The most important of these has been the restoration of the office of vice president beginning with the next presidential election in 1987. Mr. Marcos had abolished the position following his declaration of martial law in 1972.

Another concession has been the announcement by his powerful wife, Imelda, that she will retire from elective politics, although many Filipinos are skeptical she will do so.

Although the new election code has limited Mr. Marcos's summary powers, he has not given in to demands that they be abrogated entirely. He has maintained in effect a constitutional amendment of his own that allows him to make laws without consulting Parliament and even to abolish Parliament. In an interview last week, Mr. Marcos indicated that these powers too might be ended by the new Parliament.

Despite the President's concessions, a sizable part of the opposition has mounted an intensive and divisive campaign to boycott the elections. Mr. Concepcion estimates that the boycott movement, opposed by Mr. Laurel and the widow of Mr. Aquino, could cost the opposition forces up to 20 percent of the support they might expect, thus improving the chances that Mr. Marcos will continue to dominate the assembly. Last week, an estimated 50,000 people, led by Mr. Aquino's younger brother, Agapito, demonstrated against the election in Manila's main park at the end of a seven-day protest march from distant points all over the country.



# A New Crisis for Latin Debt

By ALAN RIDING

**W**HEN Mexico's new Government slashed public spending and reduced real wages last year, it won accolades from Western bankers eager to believe that austerity was the answer to Latin America's debt crisis.

Today, that confidence has been shaken. The austerity measures demanded by the International Monetary Fund and the big American and European banks have helped to thrust both Mexico and Brazil into recessions that are eroding their capacity to meet future debt obligations. And the newly elected Governments of Argentina and Venezuela seem determined not to pay a similar price to appease their creditors.

So a new Latin debt crisis is brewing, probably more perilous and certainly more political than in the recent past. This time the issue is whether Latin America's four biggest debtor nations can achieve economic recovery and political stability while continuing to make huge interest payments on their foreign debt.

Last year Brazil, Mexico, Argentina and Venezuela persuaded Western banks to postpone the repayment of principal coming due on their \$260 billion in debts. Now they are arguing ever more insistently that by continuing to honor their interest payments—which totaled more than \$20 billion last year—they are being forced to destroy their economies and assume the risks of major political upheavals, which, in turn, would eventually force them to default.

"We're living a bizarre and dangerous charade," one American banker in the region remarked. "We're trying to pretend that everything is O.K. with debt repayment, that we're coming out of the woods, and we're losing precious time."

No one knows when the new crisis might erupt, destroying the complacency that has built up concerning the debt issue—or what precise shape it

## Bankers resist the pleas of biggest borrowers to trim interest payment.

will take. But the lines are being drawn. The debtor nations insist that they must be granted additional loans and easier repayment terms, with interest payments either suspended or sharply reduced.

In contrast, the creditors—both the banks and the governments of the major industrial nations—believe they did enough for their Latin debtors last year by agreeing to postpone the payments of principal coming due on the foreign debt and by providing some new loans. They insist that they cannot possibly alter interest terms on the foreign debt without sustaining huge losses. That argument meets with little publicly expressed sympathy in Brazil, the world's biggest debtor, with \$93 billion outstanding. Says Nogueira Batista Jr. of the Getúlio Vargas Foundation, an economics studies institution: "The international banking market, which in the past benefited so much from loans to Brazil, will now have to prepare itself to accept emergency solutions and take losses."

Some bankers are betting that Argentina, with \$44 billion in foreign debt, will provide the first test of the new Latin determination to reduce interest payments. The test might come this month. Argentina will be 90 days past due on some \$3 billion in interest payments when the quarter

ends on March 31. If it doesn't reach an agreement to pay these arrears, at least in part, by that date, then United States banking regulations would force some major American banks to list the debts involved as "nonperforming loans." That would reduce the banks' first-quarter earnings by millions of dollars and undoubtedly raise a new uproar over default.

Some American market analysts are even girding for the worst by lowering the first-quarter earnings estimates for Manufacturers Hanover, Citicorp and other big banks. Manufacturers and Citicorp are the two biggest American bank lenders to Argentina, with nearly \$3 billion in loans outstanding, and they have fallen behind in collecting millions in interest on the loans. Indeed, no interest has been paid by Argentina since last October and that nation's recently installed president, Raúl Alfonsín, says he'll continue the moratorium until June 30 while he works out economic policy.

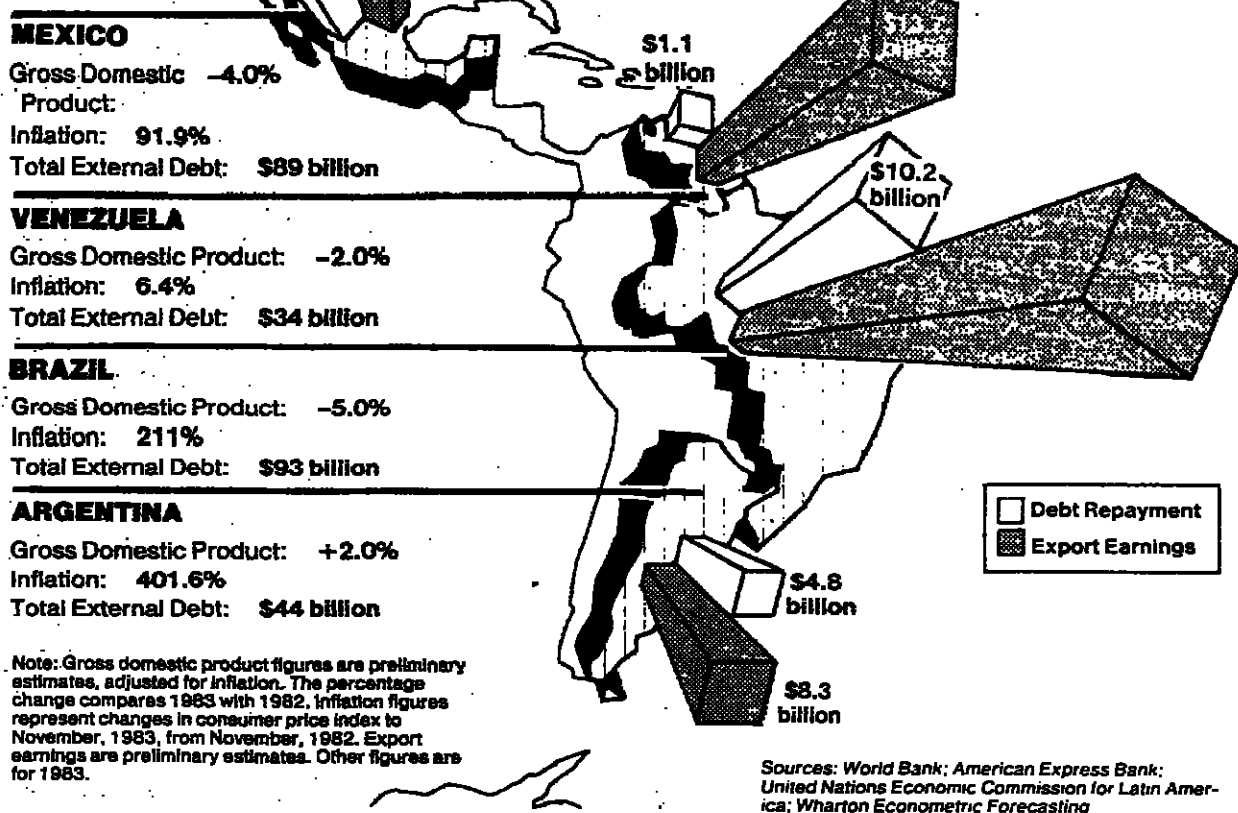
That doesn't perturb Walter Wriston, chairman of Citicorp, who holds that the big four Latin debtors are on the road to recovery and have the wealth to keep up debt payment. Argentina "is so naturally rich, but it has not enjoyed superb management over the years, starting with Peron and Evita uno and dos," he said in a speech last week. "But they are people of good will."

But in Latin America, fear of default and of the wrath of the banks is losing ground to other preoccupations. The change was described in a recent report from the Latin American Debt Commission of the Americas Society, a New York-based organization of United States corporations with operations in the region. "In virtually every Latin American and Caribbean country," the report said, "there are major pressures to turn inward, to reject cooperation with the I.M.F., to turn their backs on existing obligations and to look to solutions which stress a higher degree of protectionism and state control."

The Latin nations together owe Western banks about \$310 billion, but Brazil, Mexico, Argentina and Venezuela account for the bulk of this amount, and much of their \$260 billion in debt is short-term loans made in recent years. In their effort to repay, the big four debtors are, for the first time in years, sending more money

## Huge Repayments Stunt Growth

The four big Latin debtor nations had to endure recession and high inflation in 1983—and debt repayments took a large percentage of export earnings.



back to the banks and other creditors than they are receiving in new financing from abroad. Last year, in fact, debt repayment forced them to export a total of \$10.8 billion in capital, and that contributed to the economic contraction in each of the countries. The big four say this contraction is intolerable.

Not only in Latin America, but also in the United States, politicians, economists, bankers and academics gather frequently at seminars to discuss new approaches to the Latin debt problem. But in practice, no new idea has been tested; both creditors and debtors continue to deal with the debt through traditional methods that have prevailed since the creation of the I.M.F. after World War II to help Western nations remain solvent. Those traditional measures are essentially a combination of emergency credits and austerity measures that makes money available through slashes in public spending, wage freezes, import restrictions and currency devaluations.

Yet, what began 18 months ago with Mexico's currency collapse as a cash-flow problem that seemed addressable in the traditional way has now evolved into a far more complicated repayment issue that not only distorts economic policy and aggravates social tensions, but also threatens political stability.

"No responsible government can indefinitely impose measures that reduce growth, employment and social programs," the Americas Society Commission said. "Extremist movements of the right and left are likely to attempt to take advantage of unrest resulting from prolonged austerity measures."

Consequently, in Latin America, the financial crisis and ways of alleviating it are being viewed increasingly through a political prism. The region's central bankers are still more interested in a good credit rating in New York, but their influence is waning in many capitals. That is particularly the case with Argentina, where the elected civilian Government inherited a shattered economy from an unpopular military regime and is now determined to consolidate the country's new democracy by reviving economic growth, even if this means with the disapproval of foreign bankers.

Mr. Alfonsín has resisted austerity measures required by the I.M.F. and

that has meant he hasn't been able to draw on an I.M.F. standby credit that would help to meet the interest payments. They would be about \$8 billion in arrears by the end of the year, if the payment moratorium were to continue.

In Mexico, a severe slump has so far brought no serious social unrest, despite an austerity program that has cut subsidies for food and power, contributed to unemployment and held down real wages, and devalued the peso to limit imports. The cutbacks, plus oil earnings, have allowed the country to keep up with interest payments on its \$89 billion debt, payments that totaled nearly \$11 billion last year. But President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado is under strong political pressure to stimulate the economy prior to midterm congressional elections next year.

Brazil's debt crisis has become very political. Last year, food riots and sackings of supermarkets and grain silos reflected growing popular irritation with Government austerity measures, including a new law limiting wage increases in a country with more than 200 percent annual inflation. But, unlike Mexico, Argentina and Venezuela, each governed by civilians elected with strong mandates, Brazil's lame-duck military Government, to be replaced by a civilian regime next year, seems too weak to confront the country's creditors with strong demands for easier terms for repaying its \$93 billion debt.

Until recently, the pressure on the creditor nations was defused because the debt shocks had come in stages. Further, in each case—first Mexico, then Brazil and, most recently, Argentina and Venezuela—it was possible to identify specific, correctable reasons for their problems.

Mexico, for example, had borrowed heavily to sustain an overvalued currency and a high growth rate. Brazil's fate was attributed to its commitment to huge mining, hydroelectric and industrial projects that required billions in construction loans, but took too long to produce revenue to pay the debt. The cost of the Falklands war became the explanation for Argentina's crisis, while Venezuela's refusal to devalue the Bolívar during last year's Presidential election campaign aggravated its problems by encouraging imports that used up available foreign currency.

# The Economy

As a result, the countries' creditors, supported by the I.M.F. and, less visibly, by the Reagan Administration, were able to focus on tough domestic solutions that would make debt repayment possible—solutions, in short, that fell entirely on the shoulders of the debtors. Now they are protesting that the burden should be shared more equitably by the creditors—the banks and governments in the industrial world. The argument is that the debt crisis stems from their activities, too, specifically from sharply higher interest rates, the weakening of commodity prices, the growing protectionism of the industrial world that keeps out Latin products and the vagaries of the world oil market.

"No matter how much we contort ourselves or the population goes hungry, we will not be able to produce many dollars to help the banks," wrote Celso Furtado, a leading Brazilian authority on development issues.

For the moment, Mexico has accepted the solution of continual postponements of principal payments while maintaining interest payments. Principal payments for Mexican debts maturing between August 1982 and December 1984 were postponed last year and, within a few months, Mexican Finance Ministry officials

will begin negotiating postponement of debt obligations due in 1985. The debts rescheduled last year are to be repaid after 1987, but bankers predict a further rescheduling then.

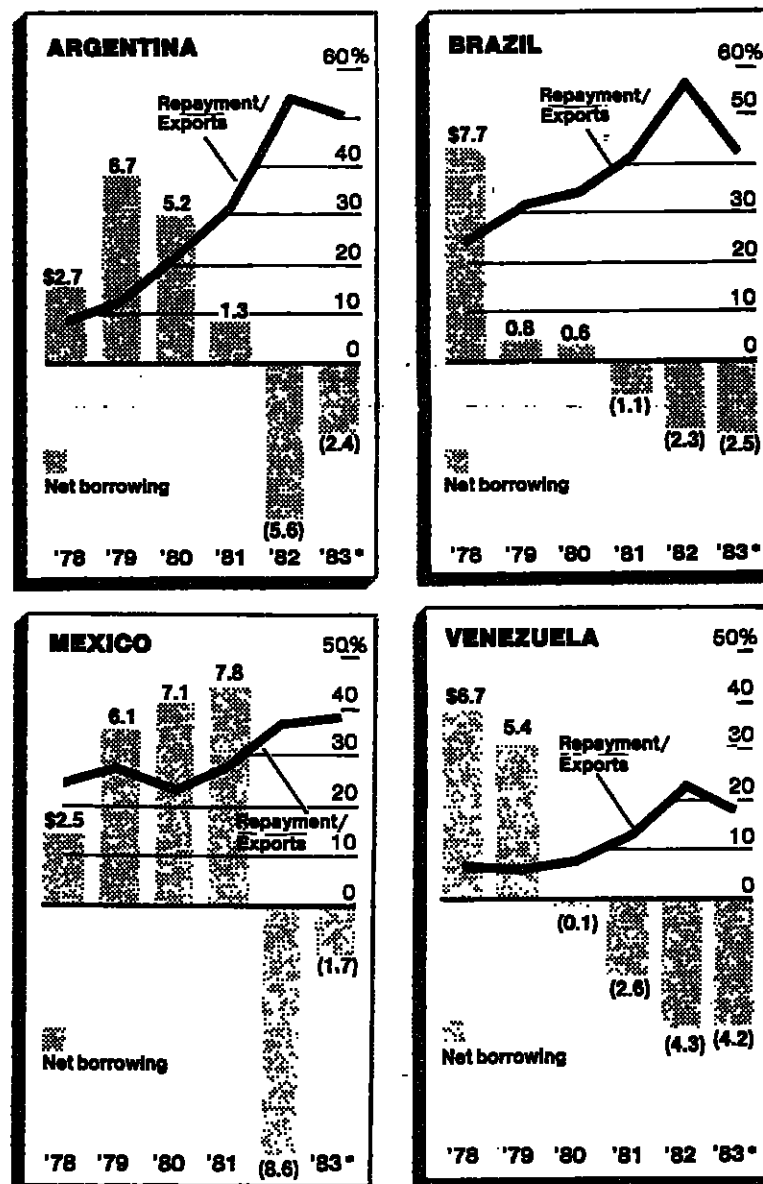
Brazil, on the other hand, is accused by the I.M.F. and the creditor banks of shying away from austerity measures that it agreed to as a means of keeping up with interest payments, which totaled \$9.7 billion last year and are expected to be nearly \$11 billion in 1984. Yet, with the country entering its fourth year of recession and having recorded an unprecedented 211 percent inflation rate and a 4 percent drop in its gross domestic product in 1983, economists of all political hues argue that bigger doses of the austerity medicine will not work.

Latin American economists invariably stress, as a solution for their problems, the need for open markets for the region's exports and for higher and steadier commodity prices. But the spotlight soon returns to the interest question: The outflow of capital, they say, must be reversed through capitalization of interest payments now in arrears—treating it as if it were principal—and through lower interest rates, which currently range one to two percentage points above the London Interbank Offered Rate, now about 10.4 percent for 90-day loans.

## The Painful Process of Repayment

The major Latin debtors have begun to pay back more than they borrow. But the repayments are consuming a larger and larger share of export earnings.

Net borrowings, in billions of dollars—the difference between a country's repayment of foreign debt and its new borrowings. Repayment as a percent of export earnings.



## WEEK IN BUSINESS

# The Market's Fear of a Hot Economy

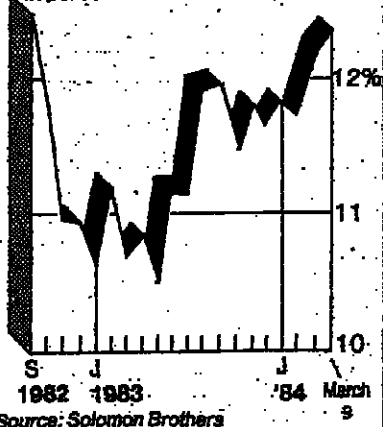
Wall Street appeared convinced that the economy was growing fast enough to make higher interest rates inevitable. In anticipation of credit demand exceeding supply, rates staged a major upward move, with long-bond yields hitting their highest levels since September 1982. Buyers all but disappeared. Economists have feared that the heated pace of economic expansion in January would continue into February, putting pressure on the Federal Reserve to slow the growth by raising interest rates. Those fears were heightened on Friday as the Government reported that unemployment had again fallen to 7.7 percent in February from 7.9 percent in January and that the economy was strong enough to absorb 700,000 new jobs. Adding to the concern, the Council of Economic Advisers chairman, Martin S. Feldstein, predicted that first-quarter inflation-adjusted growth would be 6 percent, or much greater than the slowdown that was expected when the year began.

Stocks were also battered for most of the week by interest rate fears. On very low trading volume, the Dow Jones industrial average fell 31.72 points, to 1,139.76. And even a \$1.5 billion drop in the money supply did not cheer investors because it wasn't as large as they had expected.

Slow sales of Coleco's Adam home-

## A Jump in Rates

Yields of 30-year Treasury bonds for the first day of each month, in percent.



computer, plus substantial overhead and startup costs for the machine, created a \$35 million loss in the fourth quarter. The deficit on Adam surprised even top Coleco officials and prompted analysts to speculate that because of the repeated troubles with Adam, Coleco might discontinue the machine. The company had one bright note—\$60 million in Cabbage Patch doll sales.

Soal won the competition for Gulf Oil with an \$80-a-share bid, as Atlantic Richfield dropped out of the race. The total purchase price will be more

than \$13 billion, for the largest merger in corporate history. Opposition to the acquisition arose immediately in Congress. Meanwhile, T. Boone Pickens' group, instigator of the Gulf affair, will garner a \$750 million profit on the shares it holds.

Texaco can breathe easier now that it has agreed to buy back 9.7 percent of its stock held by the Bass Brothers and affiliates. The \$1.28 billion deal in cash and preferred stock, which will give the Bass group more than \$250 million in profits on the 25.6 million Texaco shares it owns, ended speculation and nervousness that Texaco might be the next target of a major oil company takeover.

A second major steel merger fell victim to the Justice Department's antitrust guidelines. U.S. Steel and National Intergroup called off their billion-dollar plan to merge their steel operations, unable to reach agreement with the Government on ways to make the plan meet stated merger standards. Just three weeks ago, the Justice Department said it would sue to block a similar merger between LTV and Republic Steel. "It would have been a marvelous fit," said U.S. Steel's David Roderick.

Fujitsu increased its ownership in the Amdahl Computer Corporation to a potential 49.5 percent. Through purchase of a block of Amdahl stock from

the Heizer Corporation as well as block of options on Amdahl stock, also held by Heizer, the Japanese computer giant appears to be strengthening its position in the American market in the battle for big computers. Amdahl is a direct competitor with I.B.M. and could fit well into Fujitsu's battle plans. The company announced in 1982 that it would market a computer as good or better than the fastest American supercomputers.

Defective Chips. After a Federal judge refused to accept a no-contest plea, National Semiconductor agreed to plead guilty to charges that it violated Federal regulations on the testing of semiconductor chips for military use. The price for the guilty plea will be a \$1.75 million payment by National and no more civil or criminal suits from the Government. But the action was meant by the Defense Department as a warning. The Pentagon said that it was currently investigating 14 other companies for similar violations and that indictments were expected.

Miscellaneous. Victor Posner made a \$410 million, or \$40-a-share, bid for the shares of National Can that he doesn't already own. The Miami financier described the offer as an investment, and according to National Can's chairman, Frank W. Considine, there will be no change in the company's top command.

## The New York Stock Exchange

### MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED MARCH 9, 1984

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
Gulf Co	21,996,900	65 1/2	- 4%
AT&T	10,444,100	17	- 4%
Texas	8,131,500	38 1/2	- 8%
IBM	4,847,200	108	- 4
Supr Oil	4,558,500	39 1/2	- 1%
Hou N G	3,901,900	51 1/2	- %
Unocal	3,840,000	33 1/2	- 4%
LIL Co	3,634,100	7	- 1%
G Mot	3,521,700	65 1/2	- 3%
ENSTR	3,492,900	15 1/2	+ 1/2
Ford M	3,284,900	37 1/2	- 1%
Mesa Pt	3,231,800	18 1/2	- 1%
St Regie	3,045,700	40 1/2	+ %
Mid S U I	3,031,000	13 1/2	- %
Exxon	2,979,300	38 1/2	- %

### MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	603	1,307
Declines	1,413	683
Total Issues	2,219	2,232
New Highs	30	58
New Lows	154	117

### VOLUME

	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	397,356,490	4,738,528,378
Same Per. 1983	410,389,870	4,305,349,308

### WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

	High	Low	Last Change
New York Stock Exchange			

	Last Week	Year To Date
Indust	106.3	103.2
Transp	86.5	83.1
Utilities	45.7	44.5
Finance	89.9	88.3
Composite	91.3	88.8

### Standard & Poor's

	179.8	173.3	174.1	-5.63
400 Indust				
20 Transp	139.9	133.1	133.4	-6.44
40 Utilities	66.4	64.6	64.7	-1.68
40 Financial	17.2	16.7	16.8	-0.39
500 Stocks	169.2	153.7	154.3	-4.89

### Dow Jones

	1174.3	1131.7	1139.7	-31.72
30 Indust				
20 Transp	521.1	494.2	498.4	-22.12
15 Utilities	130.0	125.4	125.9	-3.46
65 Comb	463.0	444.6	447.5	-14.39

### The American Stock Exchange

#### MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED MARCH 9, 1984

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
GilCo	1,601,800	14 1/2	- %
Heizer	1,591,100	18 1/2	+ 1%
Wang B	1,535,900	26 1/2	- 1%
DorGas	1,033,300	21 1/2	- %
Amdahl	1,017,800	17 1/2	- %
EchoB	708,700	9	- %
DomeP	673,300	3-3/16	- %
Horn H	627,900	17 1/2	- %
TIE	571,600	18	- 2%
Vrbtm	550,700	11 1/2	- 1%

### MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	241	500
Declines	518	279
Total Issues	908	908
New Highs	14	25
New Lows	53	37

### VOLUME

	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	25,852,100	318,269,055
Same Per. 1983	40,233,930	428,917,110



# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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## The Mondale Mystery

That noise people are hearing in Massachusetts, Florida, Alabama, Georgia and elsewhere is the air hissing out of Fritz Mondale's tires. His machine rolled smoothly through the preliminaries, but then came the shocking blowout in New England. And now, as the campaign moves on to Super Tuesday, there's that hiss.

Meanwhile, Gary Hart's campaign is accelerating, with amazing speed. The Democratic chairman in Massachusetts says, "It's the most incredible shift in public opinion I've ever seen." Even Mr. Mondale's campaign chief concedes that there's a "tremendous momentum" building for the Senator from Colorado.

Whatever the outcome Tuesday, the tide has turned with dramatic speed, leaving the country awash in explanations. That hiss must mean something. How could Mr. Mondale lose such a commanding lead so fast?

Because, some say, as a vote-getter Fritz Mondale must be a dud. Because, some say, he made big mistakes. Because, others say, Gary Hart's a genius, in touch with his times. Because the revised nominating system is flawed. There may be something in each of these explanations. But underlying all of them, there's a stronger, simpler one. Ronald Reagan.

The argument that it's all Mr. Mondale's fault goes something like this: His support was broad but never more than an inch deep. People don't dislike him but he excites no enthusiasm. In an era when television seeks out grand operatic themes, the best the Mondale campaign could come up with was "The Front Runner." Senator Hart, meanwhile, has been starring in that quadrennial favorite, "The Underdog," for which he helped write the original script in 1972.

Even taken together, such criticisms do not suffice for they do not take into account Mr. Mondale's political virtues. He did, after all, win in Iowa, and in a breeze. He was known, as a Senator and as Vice President, for intelligence, humor and great skill at

conciliation. He championed signal causes like school desegregation, day care, arms control and Middle East peace.

Mr. Hart has his own virtues. He has become an authority on military budgets. He's a fresh personality, unknown and unscarred, still able to outpoll the President in a trial heat. And he's a brilliant political tactician. "To understand this election," he said to Hedrick Smith of The Times last week, "you have to get out of the linear, left-right spectrum. This is not a left-right race. This is a future-past race."

Is it? The Democratic voters of early 1984 may represent a new generation but they do not necessarily represent all voters, nor even all Democrats. Mr. Hart is a hit with the young, urban professionals his aides call Yuppies. But consider another category of Democrats, more traditional in outlook. Many of them voted for Ronald Reagan in 1980. Feeling the recession, they turned against him in the 1982 election. But with recovery, the President evidently has recovered their support.

There are a lot of them, more than Yuppies. How many? As a guide, consider the views of union members. Last June, a New York Times/CBS News Poll found that 38 percent of them gave the President a favorable rating. Now that figure has climbed to about 50 percent.

Voters content with the man in the White House are unlikely to exert themselves to vote for Mr. Mondale — or to vote in the primaries at all. That may be why Democratic turnouts so far have been much lower than in 1980 — down 15 percent in Iowa, down 8 percent in New Hampshire and down 53 percent in Maine, rising only in Vermont.

All the analysis of how Democrats are voting thus ignores something powerful, something that, more than anything, may explain the Mondale mystery. A lot of Democrats who aren't showing up at the polls are nonetheless voting, passively — for the President.

## The Broken Plows of Africa

Africa needs emergency food aid, and quickly. The worst drought in this century has gripped a score of countries in southern Africa, threatening lives and stability. But weather isn't the only culprit. If Africa is to feed itself in years ahead, it also needs incentives to scrap a failed marketing system that in too many countries keeps farmers poor and granaries empty.

So contends the Reagan Administration in proposing a two-track response: immediate food for Africa's hungry, and a five-year, \$500-million "economic policy initiative" to promote reform of unworkable marketing policies. In this case, productive diplomacy and President Reagan's free-market instincts go hand-in-hand. Indeed, development experts at the United Nations and the World Bank have long pleaded for the concerted effort the Administration has proposed.

In the past two decades, Africa's per capita food output has declined by a fifth. The grievous results have been hunger at home, dependence on imported food and declining income from exports. A major cause of this downward spiral has been the failure to provide adequate compensation to farmers. And the main blame for that falls on the state marketing boards established in most African countries when they became independent.

The idea was to speed development and generate revenues by making the state the sole buyer of farm produce. But in the main, the marketing boards have kept prices down to provide cheap food for urban consumers. Predictably, farmers went broke and swarmed to cities, impelling insecure governments to try all the harder to pacify restless urban populations with cheap food.

The damage has been compounded by overvaluing currencies, ostensibly to make imports cheaper for infant industries. But overvaluation makes exports less competitive and increases the addition of ruling elites to imported luxuries. Worst of all, the system is self-reinforcing. Once trapped, a weak regime feels it to be politically disastrous to end "cheap food," repair exchange rates and raise farm income.

It would do Africa no favor for the United States to rush in with \$95 million worth of food without helping governments to escape this cycle of impoverishment. Mr. Reagan's proposals may be helpful if grants are conditioned on political reforms, if money is channeled into crop research and technical assistance and if other donors and development agencies join in the effort.

Africa's climate may be beyond human remedy. But there's nothing immutable about unworkable policies. Finding ways to reshape them is a worthy ambition.

### Topics

## Outsiders, Insiders

### Slamming the Door

In carrying out an unwise — and un-American — policy of denying visas to "controversial" foreign visitors, the State Department boxes itself into an especially absurd corner. It now decrees that none of El Salvador's six presidential candidates would be welcome here before that country's March 25 election. The idea is to keep Roberto d'Aubuisson, candidate of the far right, from coming to Washington to give a speech.

Mr. d'Aubuisson was denied entry a few months ago, on the vague grounds that his presence was somehow detrimental to the interests of the United States. Does that mean that the State Department is taking sides in the Salvadoran election? To avoid that crude (and accurate) interpretation, State now broadens the ban to include all candidates.

The department also recently denied a visa to a Cuban official who had been invited to attend an off-the-record roundtable on Central America sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations. The denial caused no injury to Cuba but deprived Americans of a chance for a frank discussion of, among other things, lack of political rights in Cuba.

Visas are not a reward for good behavior or an endorsement of anyone's views. The more the State Department behaves otherwise, the

more it sows trouble for itself. Suppose Mr. d'Aubuisson, exploiting resentment over his exclusion, manages to win that vote. Will the department extend the ban to all Latin American presidents so that it can justify slamming the door again?

### Dog Trot

When the Mayor of New Orleans visited the Mayor of New York recently, he brought along his city's official mascot, a large pelican.

Mayor Koch may or may not have liked the pelican, but it's safe to say that he liked the idea of a pelican. Because now he wants New York to have a mascot of its own.

Suggestions have been rolling in. Dogs head the list, followed by worms and roaches. King Kong is in fourth place, but given his flabby performance on the top of the Empire State Building last spring we don't think he's got a chance.

We'd like to vote for a dog — one dog in particular. It is the German Shepherd who, ambling along the tracks from 110th Street to 34th Street, forced an IND B train to a dog's pace last week. At 34th he disappeared, only to reappear at West Fourth where he was rescued — tired, dirty but still trucking.

A dog like that is more than a mascot; he's an inspiration to all New

Yorkers — stubborn, resourceful and unfazed by the subway. Mayor Koch, look no further than the A.S.P.C.A.

### Long Lease

If the Queen of England can claim a June birthday so that her subjects may have warm dry weather for the celebration, the New York City Housing Authority is entitled to ordain next June 26 as its 50th birthday, though its first board meeting was actually held on Feb. 20, 1934.

The authority owns all 200,000 public housing apartments in New York, making it America's largest apartment house owner. Many tenants can no longer afford rents big enough to cover operating costs, and so Washington has been contributing maintenance and other subsidies. The money is well spent. Complicated by changes in construction techniques and design, replacing the old projects would cost billions.

On the official birthday the authority will celebrate one constant feature of its oldest project, First Houses on the Lower East Side: Frank and Mary LiCausi. They moved in December 20, 1935, the day the project opened, and are the only occupants who have remained there ever since. By New York's peripatetic standards that is nearly as miraculous as the survival of public housing.

### Letters

## The 16-Inch Guns That Threaten Americans

To the Editor:

Secretary of State Shultz told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Feb. 22 that U.S. warships may continue to bombard targets in Lebanon. His rationale: to protect the U.S. Embassy and some 2,000 American citizens in and around Beirut.

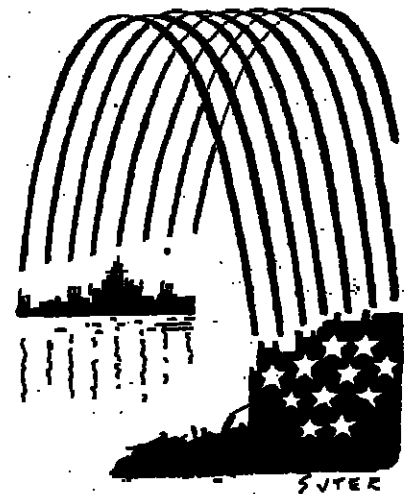
It may well be that the embassy and the other official U.S. installations in Lebanon require extraordinary protection. But as for the Americans in Lebanon not in the employ of their Government, let us assure you: We don't need U.S. protection and we don't want it — at least not the kind Secretary Shultz has been sending us from the battleship New Jersey.

We are civilians and we live among civilians, many of them Druse and Shiite Moslems, who have become the circumstantial enemies of our misguided policy in Lebanon. In contrast, the battleship New Jersey is a military engine, and it is in Lebanese waters to carry out a military mission. It is not there, as Secretary Shultz says, to protect civilians. If it is, then the New Jersey has been sent on the wrong mission.

We American civilians depend on the civility of our neighbors, be they Druse or Moslem, Maronite Catholic, Greek Orthodox or members of any of the other ethnic and religious communities that make up Lebanon. When guns are introduced into our daily lives, the degree of safety we enjoy is almost always diminished. Even in a society where guns and pri-

vate militias are everywhere, more guns are not the answer.

We Americans in Beirut, along with our institutions, have survived the bloody years of civil war by remain-



ing strictly neutral and standing for all the best ways by which individuals coexist harmoniously in society. The American community, and the American University of Beirut, were always known and respected — and protected — because of their neutrality and their active concern for all the disparate groups in Lebanese society. When the first shell from a U.S. gun was fired at a Lebanese citizen, whether Druse, Shiite, Syrian-backed militiaman or what have you, the effect was to place a gun in the hand of

the American community, making it a target for all others who carry guns. Suddenly we had to fear reprisals for acts of violence deemed effective — or expedient — by our President and his Secretary of State, eight time zones away in Washington.

Why the use of the New Jersey's 16-inch guns? One senses their appeal is largely in their size: a gun that can shoot a shell weighing as much as a small car certainly ought to be able to solve any problem. But for us, that logic was impenetrable, while the logic of reprisals on American civilians was crystal clear. And let's face it, those attacks have been effective; they are accomplishing exactly what their perpetrators intended. Can as much be said for our guns?

Mr. Reagan, Mr. Shultz, let us put it to you bluntly. The recent American casualties in Beirut were as good as inflicted by the New Jersey's guns. But terrorism does not spring from a vacuum, nor does it exist without a logic, one that can seem very compelling from the wrong end of the gun barrel.

We feared that the American community in Lebanon would suffer as a result of the Israeli invasion of 1982. When the Marines came, and then returned, we had a very uneasy feeling about their presence. But when the New Jersey opened up, we knew that for us the trouble was really just beginning — and that this could well be the beginning of the end.

We civilians have done more for America in the Middle East than all the Marine battalions and Navy battleships our nation has at its disposal. Many of the friends this country has in the Middle East and throughout the Moslem world were educated at the American University of Beirut.

Regardless of how our leaders in Washington choose to divvy up the responsibility for the shooting of the American University's Malcolm Kerr or the kidnapping of Frank Regier, for our purposes they are the victims of a reckless and ideologically motivated American foreign policy that has placed in terrible jeopardy not only the lives of American civilians in Beirut but their good works as well.

So please, Mr. Reagan, Mr. Shultz, send the New Jersey home. Or, at the very least, do not justify further shelling as protection for American civilians. It is dishonest — and for us a bitter blow — that our undoing should be presented as our salvation.

MARIANNE BUCKLEY  
HARRY STOKES  
Gettysburg, Pa., March 1, 1984

The writers are, respectively, a Beirut resident now attending Gettysburg College and a member of the college's faculty who formerly taught at the American University of Beirut and plans to return to Beirut this summer.

## What a Palestinian Solution Cannot Solve

To the Editor:

There is a hidden fallacy, it seems to me, in Harold Saunders's March 4 Op-Ed article proposing continued talks with the Palestinians. The fallacy is imbedded in his argument that "there will be no peace without an Israeli-Palestinian negotiation."

For it perpetuates the now widely accepted myth that the so-called "Palestinian question" is the core issue in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The truth is that at the heart of the strife between Arabs and Jews in the Middle East lies the very existence of Israel, a Jewish island in a Moslem sea which Islam is determined to erase from the area's map. In its current tourist maps, Egypt already has done so, notwithstanding Cairo's "peace treaty" with Jerusalem, and Cairo, let us not forget, is the site of Al-Azhar, the university that is Islam's "Vatican." It decides Islamic policy and theology.

Why this implacable Moslem hostility? Because Moslems look upon Israel as a channel for a Western life style, and for Western ideas about govern-

ment and human rights which Islam regards as decadent and subversive of Islamic values à la Khomeini, Qaddafi and other leaders in the restive "reformist" Islamic resurgence.

As one Moslem scholar put it recently, "The existence of Israel nullifies the unity of our [Islamic] civilization, which embraces the whole region. Moreover, the existence of Israel is a flagrant challenge to our philosophy of life, and a total barrier against the values and aims to which we aspire in the world."

Israel cannot be faulted, therefore, for refusing to negotiate with a P.L.O. whose barbarisms against a democratic Jewish state are fully documented in the files of every metropolitan newspaper in the Western world, and whose links to Islamic regimes are as clear as their goal: the annihilation of Israel.

Nothing is more likely to produce another Middle East war than an attempt to pressure Israel into yielding the West Bank to a P.L.O. "homeland." FRANK GERVASI  
New York, March 4, 1984

## Moments of Silence Injurious to None

To the Editor:

When prayer was removed from the public schools, the Florida high school I attended began observing a moment of silence in the morning, preceded by a brief selection (read by a student over the intercom) from the Talmud, the New Testament, the Koran, from the writings of Whitman, Emerson or Shakespeare, or from something written by a student.

I am against formal school prayers; none would please all beliefs. But silence respects everyone, including those who do not believe. The silence that began our noisy, busy school days was for me a time of complete freedom of mind. The literary selections brought appreciation of different cultures and beliefs, without the taint of favoring any one group.

If school prayer is to return, it would be good to see it observed as it was in my school. For one moment, the entire school was brought together. No one was left out or made to feel different. It was a beautiful way to begin a day, ideally American because it respected and acknowledged all.

VIRGINIA JONES  
Rego Park, N.Y., March 7, 1984

## Our Solid Majority of 'Special Interests'

To the Editor:

Now even Anthony Lewis joins in the dismissal of the "Democratic Party that Franklin Roosevelt built" as a thing of the past because it is "based on interest groups and dedicated to government intervention as the [my emphasis] solution to social and economic problems" (column March 1). That "the" is quite misleading.

F.D.R. surely believed in some intervention in behalf of those at the bottom of the economic pyramid. But the implication that he believed intervention was the only source of social progress would surprise those businessmen who were contemplating skyscraper windows when facing bankruptcy under Hoover. They were rescued by the New Deal.

All this points up the inadequacy of the effort to make "old ideas" or "new ideas" (never spelled out) the issue in this year's election.

Mr. Reagan apparently regarded Social Security as one of these old ideas that could be supplanted by voluntary payments. That was before he became President. Early in his Administration, he sought drastic cuts in Social Security payments. He was rebuffed by a 96-to-zero vote in

the Senate, which indicates that at least one "old idea" is very much alive today, and was to the politicians who would toss the old folks back to charity (or selling apples).

Government intervention to save Chrysler — which Walter Mondale opposed — and Gary Hart opposed — saved the jobs of thousands of workers. This seems to show that the issue is good ideas versus bad, whether old or new. Social Security, industrial democracy and civil rights are good ideas; so is extending and protecting the rights of labor to organize at a time when "give-backs" and union busting have become earmarks of the Administration.

The "interest groups" that Lewis dismisses can constitute a coalition of labor, farmers, women, blacks and Hispanics, who together make up about 95 percent of the nation's population. Surely the derogatory term "special interests" better describes the tiny percentage of millionaires who have enjoyed most of Reagan's tax benefits. They might have reason to be concerned about a coalition that brings together a solid majority of the American people.

JOSEPH CLARK  
New York, March 1, 1984

## Whittaker Chambers: Odd Choice for the Medal of Freedom

To the Editor:

Many of my former colleagues at Time Inc. will share my feeling of consternation at the news that the Medal of Freedom is to be awarded to Whittaker Chambers posthumously.

We still remember his reign as Time's foreign news editor, which began in the hopeful summer of 1944, when Allied armies were marching across Europe. Time's foreign correspondents, men like Charles Wertenbaker, John Hersey, Richard Lauterbach, Stoyan Pribichevich and Percy Knauth, reported the emergence of popular governments backed by partisans who had been fighting Hitler.

The readers of Time never saw these dispatches. Whittaker Chambers suppressed them, rewrote them, distorted them, tailoring the news to make it conform to his own right-wing view of world affairs.

From Paris, Charles Wertenbaker protested Time's story of "Red riots" which had been substituted for his cable describing France's orderly new local governments. Pribichevich's reports from Yugoslavia telling of the slaughter of partisans by Mihailovich never saw print. So many of John Hersey's stories from Moscow were suppressed that he stopped sending political news and confined his cables to accounts of Shostakovich's newest

symphony and other cultural events. Reporting from China, Theodore H. White saw his criticisms of Chiang Kai-shek's autocratic regime replaced with encomiums of Chiang as a defender of democratic principles.

When researchers in Time's New York office protested the inaccuracy of the foreign news stories, Chambers habitually replied, "Truth doesn't matter." The facts had to be altered to fit his anti-Communist crusade.

Eventually the correspondents' protests resulted in an investigation, and Chambers was made an editor of special projects, a position he held until 1948, when he named Alger Hiss as a Communist.

Whatever views one may hold

about the Hiss case, there is no doubt that Whittaker Chambers perjured himself during a grand jury investigation and changed his testimony repeatedly. During the first trial, when Lloyd Paul Stryker said to him, "Lying comes easy to you," Chambers replied, "I believe so."

With all due respect to the dead, is this man, who has left behind him so many doubts about his own role, an appropriate recipient of the Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian award?

DOROTHY STERLING  
Wellfleet, Mass., Feb. 28, 1984  
The writer, a Time Inc. employee from 1936 to 1949, was assistant bureau chief in Life's news bureau from 1944 to 1949.



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## WASHINGTON

## An Appeal For Patience

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, March 10 — The only fun in this Presidential election so far is that nobody knows what's going on. It's a guessing game.

The pollsters, the pundits, and the politicians were so wrong about the collapse of Fritz Mondale that it's a little hard to bet that they're right about the rise of Gary Hart.

It's a goofy way to pick a leader of the defense of a nation and of civilization, but at least it delays a decision, and gives the people something to think about between now and the World Series.

What are the American people saying in these primary elections and state caucuses? Chancellor Kohl of Germany was here the other day asking this question. Our neighbors, Prime Minister Trudeau of Canada and President de la Madrid of Mexico also want some logical answer.

But there are no logical answers. The guess here is that the American people are saying all sorts of puzzling and contradictory things and maybe poking fun at the politicians.

They are responding to Senator Hart's appeal to New Ideas, which if so, is bad news for Mr. Reagan and the Republicans. At the same time, they are responding to Mr. Reagan's nostalgic appeal to Old Ideas, which is bad news for the Democrats.

Mainly, however, I think the voters are saying they can't figure these guys out now, so let's wait until we hear from the South and the big states, from New York and Pennsylvania to Ohio, Illinois and California. Let's take it easy.

This may not be a bad idea. Rural New England has come out for Gary Hart. The voters there know next to nothing about Gary Hart except that he looks a little like a young craggy Lincoln and sounds vaguely like Jack Kennedy.

High-tech Massachusetts may do the same, but Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois, with their high old-fashioned industrial smoke stacks and high unemployment, may have a different idea.

We also have to hear from the rest of this various and vigorous continent. The South, with its rivers and memories, and ties to the traditional Democratic establishment, and the blacks and Hispanics, moving North and registering and voting in the big industrial cities have yet to be heard from. So we must wait and be careful.

A good argument could be made that we are too fast in this country, that the impulse "to do something" is not always wise. Maybe the failure of Mr. Reagan's foreign policy was that he was too sudden: that he was too quick to speak, condemn, and act militarily in Lebanon and Central America, with strong passion and weak reason, and little knowledge of the tragic economic and religious backgrounds of the battlefields.

The Democratic Presidential candidates have not been very good at analyzing this problem. Mr. Hart has come along fairly well because he is talking about the life of the young and the end of the century, where they'll live when they're about his middle age.

But meanwhile, Mr. Hart is fussing with Mr. Mondale for selfish reasons, and trying to prove that Fritz is an old-fashioned man like Mr. Reagan. It's both sad and funny, because Mr. Mondale probably has more new ideas than Mr. Hart, and more power to put them over than Mr. Hart, and the irony of it is that after they cut each other up in the primaries they may very well have to run with one another against Mr. Reagan and Mr. Bush in November.

All this confusion obviously delights Mr. Reagan when he's on his way to Camp David or the ranch. He's the only guy in this Presidential race with a sense of humor. He turns all his defects to advantage, and even laughs at his old age.

The other day, addressing a convention of old geezers, he told them he had been around for quite a while himself — he is now the oldest President in the history of the republic — but he insisted that he was still so active that he proposed this year "to campaign in all 13 states."

This is Mr. Reagan's, but not necessarily the nation's gift. The question is not about the nostalgic past, but about the future, and he may laugh about it but it's not very funny.

At the end of the last World War, Winston Churchill, who saved his country, was rejected and defeated by his people, though they loved him, because they thought he was not the man to deal with the reconciliations of the future.

This is the present question, or so it seems in this corner, about the future leadership of America. It is not that Mr. Reagan was wrong in the past: He compelled an appraisal of the welfare state, the New and Fair Deals, and forced the Democrats to question their assumptions. His tragedy may be that he didn't know when to quit when he was ahead.

For in a convulsive world, demanding flexibility and change, is he a man of the future? This is the question of this election, and the Democrats, fighting among themselves, seem to be missing the point.

LOS ANGELES — Only two months ago, I said publicly that relations between the United States and the Soviet Union were the worst that I had known in the 63 years since I first went to Russia as a young physician to try to help combat a typhus epidemic.

In the first few weeks of this year, thanks to President Reagan's new peace initiative with his speech of Jan. 16, this situation has changed significantly.

I believe that there is an opportunity for real forward movement toward world peace, if we can convince the Russians of President Reagan's sincerity.

Up until that speech, our dialogue with the Soviet Union had been conducted increasingly on the level of accusation and counter-accusation.

But then President Reagan sent a clear message to the Soviet leadership, and that message had an entirely different tone. He said that while deterrence was essential to preserve peace and our way of life, deterrence was not the beginning and end of our policy toward the Soviet Union, and that we must engage the Soviet Union in a dialogue to promote peace, reduce the level of arms and build a constructive working relationship.

"We don't refuse to talk when the Soviets call us 'imperialist aggressors,'" President Reagan said. "The fact that neither of us likes the other's system is no reason to refuse to talk."

Armand Hammer is chairman and chief executive officer of the Occidental Petroleum Corporation.

## Severe Medical Choices

By Henry J. Aaron and William B. Schwartz

WASHINGTON — A debate is just beginning on whether and how to slow the growth of hospital spending. Several states have set across-the-board limits on hospital revenues. Congress has replaced open-ended payment for hospital services under Medicare with fixed payments set when patients are admitted. Representative Richard A. Gephardt, Democrat of Missouri, and Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, propose to extend this approach to physicians and to require states to set limits on hospital costs. The American Medical Association has reacted to the threat of regulation by calling on doctors to freeze fees for one year. But few Americans have yet faced the nasty fact that the growth of hospital spending cannot be sharply reduced unless beneficial services are denied to some patients.

Rising hospital costs stem from dynamic scientific advance supported by a payment system designed to shield patients from the cost of care at the time it is provided. Most people pay little or nothing for hospital services. If such services provide any medical benefit, it is in the patient's interest to have them, and under a fee-for-service payment system, physicians have an incentive to provide them.

For \$250, a CAT scanner can painlessly reveal operable lesions deep inside the body. But it can also be used to examine patients with headaches in whom the prospect of discovering anything of medical value is scant. At an annual cost of \$15,000 per patient, hemodialysis preserves the lives of otherwise healthy patients whose kidneys have failed, but it is also used to prolong the existence of the terminally ill. The \$25,000 surgical procedure that each year relieves the pain or increases life expectancy of perhaps 100,000 patients with blocked coronary arteries is also applied in tens of thousands of cases in which the benefits are marginal at best.

The results of the collision between the financial system and medical technology keep rolling in. Total hospital outlays have risen 456 percent since 1970 — an estimated 11 percent in 1983 alone. Medical care now absorbs more than 10 percent of the gross national product and may reach 12 percent by 1990. Medicare expenditures doubled from 1974 to 1979, again by 1984, and will double yet again by 1991. Medical innovation promises to prepetuate these trends.

There is no simple, painless answer. Even care with a low probability of a beneficial outcome can be viewed as having medical value. Certainly so-called zero-benefit care and duplication of facilities should be eliminated. Patients and physicians should become more sensitive to the costs of care, and ceilings on the exclusion from taxable income of employer-financed health insurance premiums would help. Further encouragement of prepaid group health

Henry J. Aaron, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, and William B. Schwartz, M.D., professor of medicine at Tufts University School of Medicine, are co-authors of "The Painful Prescription: Rationing Hospital Care."

PARIS, March 10 — President Francois Mitterrand is preparing for a week-long, coast-to-coast trip to the U.S. this month. Like everybody else here, the first thing he asks an American visitor is about Gary Hart. What are his chances? What is he like? The name is brand new to the French.

The confusion and uncertainty of an American Presidential campaign always disturb Europeans who must follow a different calendar. Mr. Mitterrand is in serious trouble with French voters now, but his first big test comes only in 1986 with legislative elections. His own mandate runs until 1988.

So he is trying to think long term, to plan with patience and ride out this difficult year when the U.S. is arguing about its leadership, the Soviets are consolidating another power team, the European Community is unraveling at the seams, and wars big and little are roiling the Middle East.

The issues haven't changed much from his previous meetings with President Reagan. Mr. Mitterrand no longer seems to expect to budge Washington so he is looking toward an exchange of impressions, a talk about the state of the world, not much more.

## Reagan's Signals and Chernenko's

By Armand Hammer

Living in this nuclear age makes it imperative that we do talk.

This is, in my view, the crux of our relations with the Soviet Union. We don't buy their ideology and they don't buy ours. In 1922, Lenin said to me that Communism was not working. That was why he announced the New Economic Policy, which allowed private trade and invited Western businessmen such as W. Averell Harriman and me into the Soviet Union in those early days. Stalin put a stop to all that, but it is not Stalin but Lenin who is revered in the Soviet Union today.

The urgency of President Reagan's

message has been further underscored by the change in the Soviet leadership.

I have met Konstantin U. Chernenko. I believe that he is a man we can work with to improve the current state of East-West relations. He was the right hand of President Leonid I. Brezhnev. His background is neither the military nor the security police but public administration.

What is most important in the new situation is not just the rise of Mr. Chernenko but that the Soviet leadership is also undergoing a major change.

A new leadership is being groomed for the future — younger men who did not fight in the war, for whom the leg-

endary figures of the Soviet past are history.

Mr. Chernenko will have the pivotal role in the selection and training of these men and in the attitudes that they adopt toward the West when they in turn take over the leadership.

But if the United States is to take advantage of these two opportunities — the olive branch extended by the President in his speech, and the emergence of new leaders in the Soviet hierarchy who may be more flexible in their attitudes toward the West — good will must be followed by specific action.

It is interesting to experts on the Soviet Union in the United States that although Mr. Chernenko, in his major television address March 2, stressed the economic problems of the Soviet Union, he noted that the United States is interested in renewing disarmament dialogues.

Despite the standard rhetoric that Mr. Chernenko included in his speech, astute observers feel that behind the written lines there are substantial indications that these talks can be renewed very soon.

However, Mr. Chernenko indicated that something more than words is needed — as he put it, "peaceableness through deeds" — and he suggested that there are several unratified treaties that could be revived as bases for agreement.

One way to expedite the strategic arms reduction talks (or Start) would be to use sections of SALT II, which was negotiated initially by President Gerald R. Ford and President Brezhnev and then signed in treaty form by President Jimmy Carter (with the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff standing at his side) and President Brezhnev (with Mr. Chernenko standing at his side) in Vienna in 1979.

The United States Senate could not then create a climate in which the necessary 67 votes were available for support. It is interesting that during the Senate's spirited debate, not only the conservatives but also many moderates and liberals were also not convinced that the treaty gave the necessary protection to the United States.

However, since that time the Soviet Union has shown a willingness to go beyond the requirements of SALT II,

## The new leader 'is a man we can work with'

cutting its missile launchers from 2,250 to 1,800. This is clearly not enough, since we also must have an agreement on warhead reduction in the strategic arms talks, but it is promising that the Soviet Union has agreed to a general ceiling on warheads.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff said at the time that while SALT II would not solve the United States' strategic problems on its own, rejecting the treaty would make those problems a lot worse.

But I believe that we should keep our eye upon the main chance: Use SALT II, with modification, to immediately resume the strategic arms talks. The other factors will fall into place gradually if the main agreement is signed and ratified this year while President Reagan — a popular leader — has the political strength to present to the Senate and the American people a reasonable treaty that begins an arms countdown rather than continuing the arms buildup.

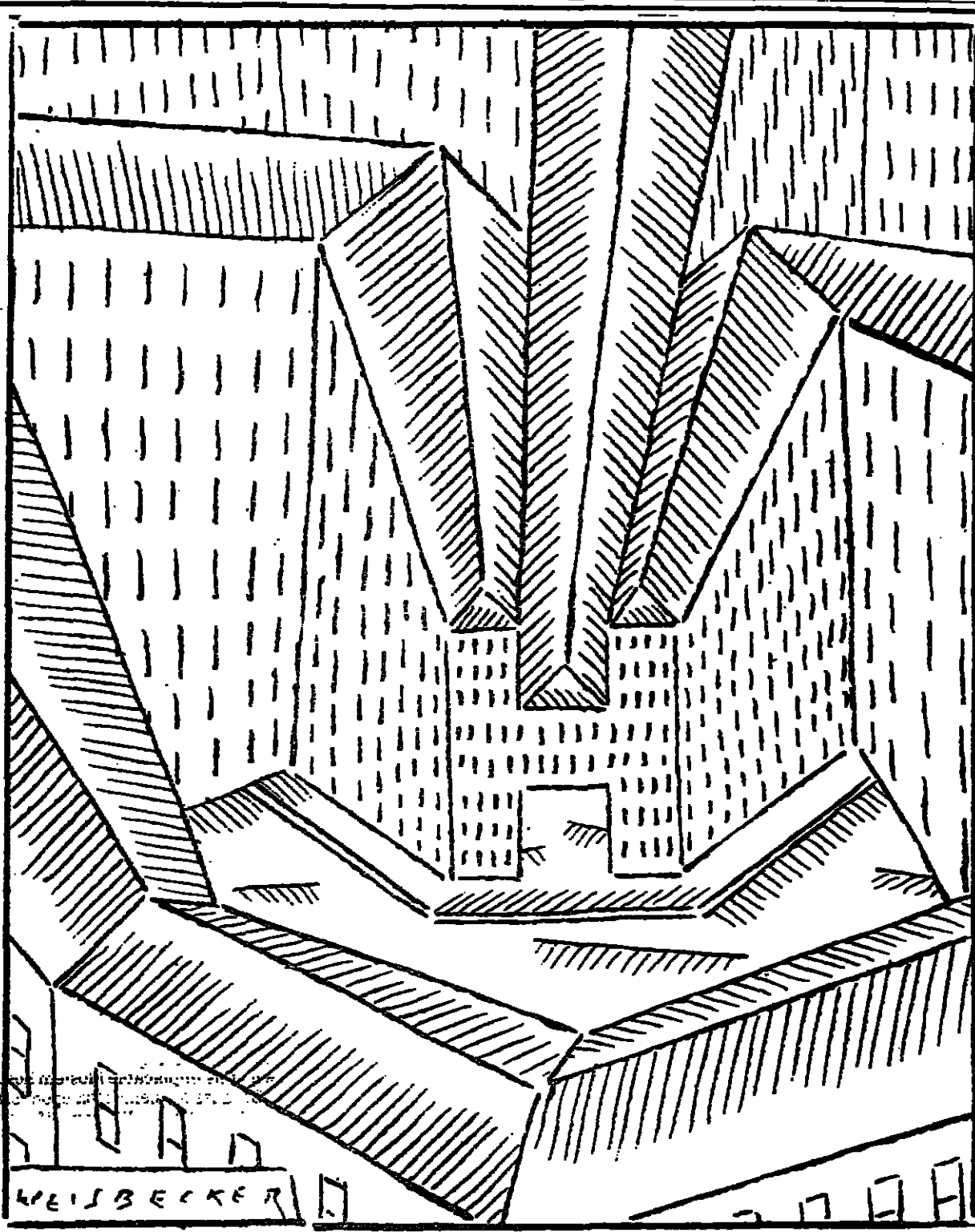
Mr. Chernenko has sent signals that he is ready to talk.

I believe there is great merit in the suggestion that before any summit meeting, which I think must take place this spring, a high-level commission of Americans should be sent to Moscow to consult with the leadership. This group should include former Secretaries of State, former ambassadors to Moscow, scholars on the Soviet Union and experts in East-West trade — people of experience who are pragmatists but whose views are respected in the Kremlin.

The resumption of Start on the basis of a modified SALT II could be one of the items on the agenda.

If not now, when? As President Reagan himself said in his Jan. 16 speech: "Together we can strengthen peace, reduce the level of arms, and know in doing so we have helped fulfill the hopes and dreams of those we represent, and, indeed, of people everywhere. Let us begin now."

I, for one, could not agree more. The need for positive action is imperative. There is no time to lose.



Philippe Weisbecker

plans and provider organizations offering below average costs would be desirable as well. But unless innovation slows, the forces that have driven up hospital outlays for 30 years will persist.

Fragmented attempts have been made to reduce costs. Official agencies have required hospitals to get permission before adding beds or buying costly capital equipment, but many hospitals responded by spending more on items for which no permission was required. Boards of doctors and other professionals have denied payment for unnecessary services under Medicare and Medicaid, but the administrative costs of oversight ate up the savings.

State-imposed limits on payments to hospitals have enjoyed somewhat more success. A New York program has achieved perceptible savings. Massachusetts has recently introduced a program that promises to eliminate the 30 percent growth in real outlays expected over the next five years. The Federal Government has just stipulated that Medicare payments to hospitals will be based on the patient's diagnosis at admission. The limits could easily be tightened, and could be applied to physicians and extended to private insurers. If these measures spread and are effective, hospital administrators and physicians will be forced to consider which beneficial equipment not to buy, which effective services, such as liver transplantation, not to offer, which methods of diagnosis or treat-

ment not to provide to patients, and which treatable patients not to admit.

Rationing of care to patients, other than the poor, is virtually unknown in America and would raise a host of problems never before encountered. But America can gain considerable insight from Britain, where hospital care has long been rationed.

The British spend less than half as much per capita as we do on hospital care. And the gap has been widening — largely because in several key areas of care the British have concluded that for many patients the loss of medical benefits from a reduction in services is small. For example, the rate of coronary artery surgery is only 10 percent of that in the United States. Many British teaching hospitals lack even a single CAT scanner. The proportion of hospital beds devoted to intensive care in Britain is less than one-fifth that of America. The British perform about half as many X-ray examinations per capita as Americans do, and use only half as much film per examination.

The reaction of British physicians and other health care personnel is, we believe, an augury of responses by American providers. The British have sought to make the denial of potentially beneficial care seem routine. As one British physician put it: "The sense that I have is that there are many situations where resources are sufficiently short so that there must be decisions made as to who is treated. Given that circumstance, the physician, in order to live with himself and to sleep

well at night, has to look at the arguments for not treating a patient. And there are always some — social, medical, whatever."

British experience with constraints on resources is not a perfect guide to the way Americans would respond. If budget limits became severe, charitable gifts would probably be far more important in America than in Britain. Because the British system discourages malpractice suits, such suits have not hampered control of hospital expenditures.

Americans probably would not accept budget limits as severe as those in Britain, in large part because they expect that everything helpful will be done. Physicians, hospital administrators and the courts would have to make the denial of some potentially beneficial care politically, ethically and legally acceptable. The agonizing issues would include the degree to which valuable new technologies, such as liver transplantation or nuclear magnetic resonance, should be rationed, when to end aggressive therapy for the terminally ill, how to decide which patients shall be denied access to overloaded equipment, who should make these decisions and who should bear the brunt of these decisions. Such decisions would not only impair patient care but also would reduce physicians' incomes.

In short, if society chooses budget limits, it will be a painful prescription. But the failure to fill it will be increasingly expensive.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

## Quiche In the Sky

By Flora Lewis

Lebanon's travail goes on. He feels it's important not to let the situation appear as the end of an era, but only as a shifting passage.

Mr. Mitterrand considers the Iran-Iraq war extremely dangerous. He doesn't think either side wants to shut off the flow of oil, but events could whirlwind out of control.

France continues to honor its special contracts with Iraq, made in different circumstances by then-Premier Jacques Chirac in 1978. They make France the supplier of about a

third of Iraq's arms, with the Russians delivering the rest. But beyond that, the President sees little to be done to prevent a victory by either side, which would be disastrous.

Unlike previous Presidents of the Fifth Republic, Mr. Mitterrand isn't an avid launcher of foreign policy initiatives. He says he's ready to talk to the Russians, but they're busy with internal problems now. He'll go to Moscow if there's no obstacle, as he put it, but he just doesn't know whether it's likely to be this year.

In any case, it wouldn't be in expectation of some important agreement. Mr. Mitterrand points out that even if there's a change of people at the top, with different temperaments, the power center in Moscow remains the same and isn't likely to decide on any substantial shift of policy. It is a more collective, less personal leadership now.

He is convinced the Russians do want to resume arms control negotiations with the U.S., possibly in a different context, merging various issues of disarmament. But he isn't optimistic about results. He'd like to see a treaty banning all weapons in

space, but he thinks France and Europe have to look ahead and join the space race because disarmament is getting nowhere.

Space is becoming a talisman among French political leaders. Their eyes shine when they talk of it as the great challenge, the test of Europe's ability to keep up in the world and the source of inspiration for a new spurt of energy and independence.

They don't seem to consider the costs, and the choices that would have to be neglected if they do decide on a European manned space platform, which Mr. Mitterrand has enthusiastically proposed. It sounds like political poetry, a kind of desperate hope that space will distract the French from their peevish and Europeans from quarrels about the price of milk and tomatoes, infusing a new spirit of community.

In sum, the outlook from Elysée Palace is bemused, aware of how limited are the means for diverting the pressures of tension in the world, concerned with stability, trying not to aggravate friction. For consolation, there's the dream of pie, or perhaps quiche, in the sky.



# Arts & Leisure

## T. S. Eliot Stirs A Controversy

By MICHAEL BILLINGTON

**A** first-class literary row has erupted around a new play dealing with the poet T. S. Eliot's unhappy first marriage to Vivienne Haigh Wood. The play, "Tom and Viv" by the 45-year-old Michael Hastings, is currently packing London's Royal Court Theater and is a partial, part-speculative account of the circumstances that led to the break-up of the marriage in 1933 and Vivienne's commitment to an asylum in 1935 where she spent the last 12 years of her life. Some leading literary figures, including the poet Sir Stephen Spender, see the play as an exploitation of a great man's reputation; others regard it as an honest attempt to depict a sad, sterile marriage.

The source of the play dates back to 1957 when Mr. Hastings's first play, "Don't Destroy Me," was being staged in New York. Mr. Hastings met Edith Sitwell at a party and, while they were discussing T. S. Eliot and Vivienne, she said: "At one point in the marriage Tom became insane and promptly certified his wife." The remark stuck in Mr. Hastings's mind and in 1980, when Vivienne's diaries were sent to the Bodleian Library in Oxford by the Haigh Wood family, he went to have a look at them. He concluded that Vivienne Eliot "had been Stalinized and turned into an unperson," that she had been a major influence on Eliot's early work and that their marriage had been a neglected, virtually sexless affair. Unable to get access to vital Eliot papers, Mr. Hastings talked at length to Vivienne's

late brother, Col. Maurice Haigh Wood, who suggested that Eliot had connived at a family plot to have the troublesome Viv certified insane.

Even before "Tom and Viv" opened, it had become controversial. The second Mrs. Eliot wrote to The Times Literary Supplement, Britain's leading literary weekly, vehemently denying her husband's culpability in relation to Viv and the suggestion that vital documents had been suppressed. Sir Stephen Spender publicly quoted W. H. Auden's remark that Eliot was the kindest man in the world. A distinguished scholar, L. C. Knights, attacked Mr. Hastings's "prurient delight" in an "unbounding gutter."

But the play turned out not to be the muck-raking attack on T. S. Eliot the preliminary hoopla had led many theatergoers to expect. In seven crisp scenes, spanning the years from 1915 to 1947, Mr. Hastings paints a compassionate portrait of a tragic misalliance. Eliot emerges as a cold, reticent, given figure who marries into the English upper-classes and discovers he has a sick wife to whom he can offer neither sexual passion nor spiritual comfort. Viv comes across as spirited, ailing, mercurial and the victim of a "hormonal imbalance" which doctors were slow to recognize. But the play seems less an indictment of Eliot than an absorbing investigation into a doomed marriage.

Undeniably Mr. Hastings has invented at least half of the evidence on which Vivienne (beautifully played by Julie Covington as a small, intense, passionate woman) is convicted of madness in the play. He makes up an incident in which she pours a tureen of melted chocolate

through the mailbox of the publishers, Faber and Faber, where her husband worked. He also puts in an episode where Vivienne terrifies her snobbish, uncomprehending mother with a trick knife. Mr. Hastings's defense is that the vital documents that might tell the whole truth are kept under wraps: "In the absence of photographs, I have to make drawings," he said.

But the play, entertaining as it is, raises important questions about how far a dramatist may go in speculating about those who are still in living memory, and how relevant a poet's life is to an understanding of his work. Sir Stephen Spender, who knew Eliot well, confided his doubts to me after seeing the play:

"I don't think the play is a convincing portrait of Tom," he said. "It deals with him only in this one situation, but no one can ever know what goes on between husband and wife. He also emerges as a wooden, unattractive, one-dimensional man with no sense of humor. But Bertrand Russell said Eliot was the most intelligent man he had taught at Harvard. And Mary Hutchinson, the wife of a famous lawyer, said he went around with a copy of Virgil in one pocket and Dante in the other. I don't even think the play sheds light on Eliot's great poem, 'The Waste Land,' as many have claimed, because it's already known he wrote much of that poem when undergoing a breakdown in Lausanne. And what no one has said is that Eliot has already written this play himself in 'The Family Reunion,' where the hero is tormented by some mysterious transgression in his past."

"When dealing with great men, I

"The play highlights the element of personal pain behind Eliot's impersonal poetic mask."



Tom Wilkinson, left, portrays T. S. Eliot in London's "Tom and Viv," a play about the poet, above, and his first wife, Vivienne.

### What are a dramatist's obligations to the dead?

family that embodied all his ideas about aristocracy and breeding and gradually accepting the corrosive values of the English upper classes. He adopted their emotional coldness and even, in the 30's, swallowed their poisonous anti-Semitism.

"At the same time, I believe Viv's contribution to his poetry, in particular to 'The Waste Land,' has never been acknowledged. I disagree with Spender that my Eliot is without humor or intelligence, but I also wanted the play to be not just about Tom and Viv but also, like Thomas Mann's 'Buddenbrooks,' a detailed portrait of a family and its destructive impact."

One's view of Eliot depends on where one stands, but there is plenty of documentary evidence to confirm that, in real life, Tom and Viv made an awkward, uncomfortable pair. Virginia Woolf's diaries speak of Eliot "all battered down" and Vivienne as convulsed as "a bag of ferrets... wriggling, raving, wavering, trembling." That is very like what we see in the play.

But "Tom and Viv" also raises larger questions about a dramatist's obligations to be fair to the dead. The answer surely is that any play is a fiction, and that world drama is on the side of dramatic license. Was Shakespeare "fair" to Richard III? Was Rolf Hochhuth "fair" to Winston Churchill when in "Soldiers" he implicated him in the death of the Polish leader, General Sikorski? Probably not; but the unfairness was justified in the one case by political necessity and in the other by moral debate.

Michael Billington writes frequently about theater in London.

## In Japan, 'Oshin' Means It's Time for a Good Cry

By CLYDE HABERMAN

**E**very morning of the week except Sunday, Japan starts the day with a good cry. By the millions, people turn on their television sets while finishing breakfast and watch the struggles of a poor little girl who overcomes all manner of hardship to become a successful businesswoman in her later years. She is called Oshin, the heroine of a 15-minute soap opera by the same name that has become one of the most popular programs in Japanese television history.

"Oshin," which began its run on the Japan Broadcasting Corporation last April, is a four-hanky heart-tugger if ever there was one. This downtrodden soul is forced to make her own way from the age of 7, and she does so stoically against all odds. By comparison, Little Orphan Annie is a layabout. Now, nearly a year later on the screen, Oshin is an elderly, though still weebegone, operator of a supermarket chain.

Perhaps nowhere else could a character so determined and uncompromising find a better audience than in this country that likes to congratulate itself for possessing the same traits. After 297 episodes — almost 75 hours of total air time — Japan's "Oshin-drome," as some call it, is coming to an end this month.

But the name Oshin has worked its way into the Japanese vocabulary, perhaps permanently, as a synonym for patience and endurance. "Be like Oshin," people urge. When former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka was convicted of bribe-receiving last fall, he said, "I am a male Oshin." A leading sumo wrestler, Takanosato, overcame diabetes and now holds the high rank of "yokozuna" in his sport. He is sometimes called "Oshin-yokozuna." The incumbent Prime Minister, Yasuhiro Nakasone, spotted a good bandwagon to jump on, and at a particularly troublesome time for him a few months ago he cited "Oshin, Nakasone and Takanosato" as three people with problems.

As might be expected, there is a full array of Oshin dolls and Oshin posters, Oshin songs and Oshin sake. Even foreign leaders, regardless of ideology, have learned how to score points here by mentioning Oshin as a symbol of Japan's postwar emergence from hard times. President Reagan offered the analogy on a visit to Tokyo last November. Two weeks later, the chief of the Chinese Communist Party, Hu Yaobang, did the same thing.

The series opened with Oshin as an 83-year-old supermarket entrepreneur who is not fully satisfied with her life. "Somewhere along the way," she tells a grandson, "I made a mistake. I feel I've lost something."

From there, the audience is swept back to 1907. Seven-year-old Oshin is forced to leave her impoverished mountain-village family to become



"Oshin," an early-morning tear-jerker about an orphan girl's travails, has proved to be one of the most popular series ever shown on Japanese television.

the servant of a prosperous lumber trader. There were not many dry eyes in any house when little Oshin lay down in the cupboard that was her bed and fell asleep, moaning softly, "Mother."

This early part of the series was the most popular, in good part because the young Oshin was played by an unbearably cute 10-year-old named Ayako Kobayashi. The program's audience share has stayed steadily to 50 percent or more, and last Sept. 24 it reached the highest rating ever for a Japanese television drama, 60.6 percent. So riveted are people to the screen that some stop whatever else they may be doing. At "Oshin" time, 8:15 A.M., most people are getting ready for work, but the city of Sapporo found that normal activity slows enough to cause water consumption to drop at 8:15 by as much 30 percent.

As she grows older, Oshin marries and has children. She is hounded by her husband's mother. The mother-in-law is such a virago that people in Saga Prefecture, where this segment of the story takes place, protested that Saga women were being given a bad name.

After World War II, Oshin's husband commits suicide. She then makes her way to Tokyo, opening a fish-peddling business that she eventually parlayed into a string of supermarkets. All along, the streets are paved with thorns. Her dominant will seems to count more for audiences than the fact that Oshin's success is

hardly typical of Japanese women.

All sorts of reasons to explain the program's popularity have been offered by sociologists and media commentators. Oshin's remark about having "lost something" strikes a chord in many Japanese. The up-from-under nature of her eight decades parallels Japan's own story during the same period. Many, here, while proud of the country's rush to affluence, feel a certain spiritual loss, and there are steady calls from Mr. Nakasone and others for a return to traditional, family-oriented values. Parents' groups, eager for children to see how hard Japanese life once was, persuaded the network to rebroadcast early segments of the series during last summer's school vacation.

Then, too, "Oshin" works because it is good soap opera, with lots of scenes such as one in which Oshin's pregnant mother wades into an ice-cold river, hoping to induce a miscarriage because she cannot feed any more children.

Oshin herself stays trouble-ridden to the end. In the final installment on March 31, she faces bankruptcy. Fear not: She will be rescued, but not before losing many of her supermarkets.

And then at 8:15 on Monday, April 2, there will be a brand-new tear-jerker. It will not even try to duplicate the tough act it must follow. This one is about a man, an aspiring movie-maker. It's called "Romance."



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## WOLF BLITZER reports on an upcoming conference of children of Holocaust survivors

## 'To perpetuate the living memory'

WITH EVERY year there are fewer and fewer survivors of the Holocaust, but many of their children are now beginning to play an increasingly significant role in remembering the past.

Perhaps as many as 1,000 of these children from around the United States and Canada with a smattering of others from Israel, Western Europe and elsewhere — mostly in their 20s and 30s — will gather in New York City from May 27-29 to fulfill their special responsibilities. In effect, they will start where their parents left off last April at the end of the highly successful Washington gathering of Holocaust survivors.

"This is going to be the first conference of children of Holocaust survivors organized by ourselves," said Menahem Rosensaft, a New York lawyer who is chairman of the International Network of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, Inc.

Rosensaft was born in Bergen-Belsen. In a moving address before last year's Washington conference, he declared: "My cradle stood only a few hundred yards from the mass graves in which Anne Frank and tens of thousands of other European Jews lie buried anonymously. My parents survived the horrors of Auschwitz; my grandparents did not. I am alive; my five-year-old brother perished in a gas chamber."

Organizing the children of Holocaust survivors in America is a relatively recent development. For one thing, they were growing up in the 1950s and 1960s. It was only in the late 1970s that they really began to recognize their common bonds.

ROSENSAFT and others were upset around that time when Helen Epstein's important book was published. It caused somewhat of a sensation because much of it focused on the psychological damage some of these children suffered as a result of what their parents went through.

"A number of us," Rosensaft recalled, "were irate. We didn't think it left an accurate picture of most of us. Our parents' experiences were not a source of negativity, but a source of strength."

More recently, many children of survivors have tried to shift the focus of their energies away from this initially, almost exclusive attention to the mental health aspects of being children of survivors.

This was underlined in a statement issued by the International Network: "Our central goals are to represent the shared views and interests of children of Holocaust survivors, to perpetuate the authentic memory of the Holocaust and prevent its recurrence, to strengthen and preserve our



At left, Gerhard Riegner (photographed some years ago), scheduled to speak at the conference, and, at right, Nazi hunter Beate Klarsfeld.



At left, Gerhard Riegner (photographed some years ago), scheduled to speak at the conference, and, at right, Nazi hunter Beate Klarsfeld.

spiritual, ideological and cultural heritage, to fight all manifestations of anti-Semitism and other forms of racial, ethnic or religious hatred, and to raise our collective voice on behalf of all human beings. Jews and non-Jews alike, who suffer from discrimination, persecution and oppression anywhere in the world."

In January, the Network recognized its special ability to appeal on moral grounds to West Germany not to sell advanced weaponry to Saudi Arabia. "It is inconceivable that Israeli soldiers, many of whom are survivors of the Nazi death camps or the sons and daughters of survivors, should now have to defend their homeland and their families against Arab armies equipped with German weapons and trained by German instructors. German military tech-

nology and expertise must not be allowed to be placed at the disposal of those whose avowed purpose is to destroy the refuge of the victims of Nazism."

The statement continued: "We, the sons and daughters of the survivors of the Holocaust, call on the youth of Germany to oppose the creation of this partnership between their government and the sworn enemies of Israel and the Jewish people. Our message to the post-Holocaust generation of Germany is clear: If your professed shame at your parents' barbarism is genuine, you will not allow your country to become allied with a regime that seeks to destroy the State of Israel. It is your moral obligation to prevent the Bonn government from supplying the instruments of death to the prin-

cipal patron of Middle Eastern war and terrorism."

THIS NEW orientation will be reflected at the conference in May. Elie Wiesel, chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, is among the scheduled speakers. Another is Gerhart Riegner, the World Jewish Congress official who in 1942 first reported the news to Rabbi Stephen Wise that Hitler's Final Solution was in fact underway. In addition, French Nazi hunters Serge and Beate Klarsfeld have been invited; so has Democratic Congressman Sam Gejdenson of Connecticut, himself a son of survivors.

There will be several panels and workshops on all sorts of Holocaust-related issues including contemporary anti-Semitism, the immediate post-war liberation years, and the

from their parents and other survivors. It, of course, is important to obtain these personal testimonies before they are lost forever. But forcing survivors to re-live their experiences during the war is understandably a difficult task, requiring a special sensitivity. Thus, some guidelines will be presented during the course of the conference.

There will be art exhibits as well as programmes in Yiddish culture and a concert at Carnegie Hall.

"We want to get together to meet each other, to share our experiences and to provide a very solid framework to carry on the necessary commemorative work," said Menahem Rosensaft. "We are very conscious of the fact that we do have a voice, and we can make an impact. We do have a certain moral authority."

The International Network has the names and addresses of some 6,500 children of survivors in the U.S. and Canada. But there are many more who would not doubt be interested in learning of these national and local activities. Those wanting to know more about the New York conference can write to The International Network of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, One Park Avenue, Suite 1900, New York, New York 10016.

THE UNCOMMONLY warm and dry weather of the season is making plants bloom earlier — but we can't take this phenomenon as a norm. There is still a possibility of rains and night frosts during March and early April.

With tough times ahead, steady inflation and the prices of fresh vegetables and flowers escalating, we may be in for another "grow it yourself" boom. "Gardener's Corner will, of course, do as much as possible to promote this trend."

Increased interest in gardening is part of a larger awareness of beautifying one's environment. Today we have more nurseries, garden centres, seed and florist shops than ever before and gardening in Israel has changed from a minority to a majority interest.

Grow 'n eat. Gardeners lucky enough to have the space can start preparing the ground for cultivating edibles of all kinds. A lot of people consider gardening hard work, but they are quite wrong. Everything except digging can easily be done from the surrounding paths, using

## Monster in the bathroom and other ideas

GARDENING  
Walter Frankl

long-handled tools like rakes and cultivators.

Not even digging a small plot need be daunting; adding well-rotted garden compost, peat, manure and (on heavy soils) sand, makes soil cultivation easier and increases yields.

Amateur gardeners who lack the space can use their balconies, roofs, patios and even paved backyards for gardening in containers. Those who want to invest a bit can buy the bigger, more expensive containers, but empty polystyrene strawberry cartons, plastic bags and cucumber tins are all suitable and cheap substitutes.

If you are a beginner, start with the easy-to-grow vegetables. Sow potatoes (whole tubers or halves with eyes on each part) in trenches about 10cm. deep, with 35 cm. between tubers and 70cm. between rows. Add some potassium (ashlagan in Hebrew) and close the trenches with a hoe or a rake and water. It takes three months to get a harvest.

You can also grow potatoes in buckets, plastic (e.g. compost) bags or big tins. A condition for success is good garden soil with added compost and potassium, a sunny position and regular watering.

Broad beans (*ful* in Hebrew) are another easy-to-grow crop. Sow in trenches 3 to 4 cm. deep with a distance of 10 to 12 cm. between seeds and about 50 cm. between rows. Tall-growing broad beans will resist strong winds better if sown in pairs.

Water 2 or 3 times a week and control possible aphids by spraying with malathion. You'll be able to harvest the ripe pods in about three months' time.

You can grow many other vegetables in addition to the New Zealand spinach I talked about last week. From mid-March until the end of May enlarge your collection of edibles by including beans, melons, sweet corn and lettuce. All these crops thrive well all over the country.

Exotic extravagance. Visiting a nursery this week, I couldn't resist buying some gloxinia corns. They seemed to be large enough (about 5-6cm. in diameter) and cost me 110 shekels a piece. Quite a sum, but a very worthwhile investment for flower lovers, because the same corns can be used year after year for a long time.

I recommended them for spring growing in my last column, and I'll add some more details about this exotic flower for any crazy readers who, like me, spend their money on expensive flower corns.

Gloxinia (*Sinningia hybrida*, same in Hebrew), belongs to the botanical family (*Gesneriaceae*) of the well-known African violet. It owes its Latin name to Wilhelm Sinning (1794-1874), a German university gardener, who brought the plant to Europe in 1815 from the Brazilian jungle.

The most important factor in successful gloxinia cultivation is the watering. Like African violets, gloxinia should be watered from underneath. Under no circumstances should the flowers and the foliage become moist. Any cold water falls on the leaves, they soon show ugly, greyish spots and eventually rot and die.

Gloxinias like a position in partial shade. Plant the corns in medium-sized flower pots (clay pots are preferable) filled with rich garden soil (no fresh manure!) and just cover the surface with sand or vermiculite (1-2 cm. above the corns). Start watering only when the first sprouts appear.

One exception to the watering rule is liquid plant food, which you can dispense from above. I fill a small, clean bottle with the liquid and, lifting the leaves carefully with one hand, pour the fertilizer into the pot, near the rim, with the other.

Fortnightly feeding will encourage good flowering.

Gloxinia blooms in white, crimson, pink, blue and purple, as well as red and white or purple and white stripes. The multi-coloured, bell shape was first created by the British gardener John Fyfe in 1845.

The first gloxinia flowers appear in late summer and blooming generally continues until October. Stop watering when fading begins. The corns should be lifted and stored in a cool, dry place when the flowers and foliage fade and should be replanted in February or March.

The outside gardener has a limited season for flowers, but the skilled indoor enthusiast can produce flowers and attractive foliage all year round. House plants like cordyline, coleus, decorative cabbages, begonia, calathea, caladium, croton, dieffenbachia, dracaena, euonymus, fittonia, hederia variegata, marantha and sansevieria all have either striped or coloured foliage and all are available at most Israeli florists.

Bread and cheese in the bath. Here's a revolutionary suggestion: why not put a monster in your bathroom?

*Monstera deliciosa* or philodendron, also known as Mexican bread or Swiss cheese plant because of its edible, banana-like fruit, is very common and established locally, and suitable for every room, including the bathroom.

The "monster" flourishes in warm, humid conditions resembling those of its homeland, the tropical

forests of the New World, and two or three potted specimens allowed to spread their aerial roots will soon turn your bathroom into a lovely jungle.

Colourful climber. Want an attractive climbing plant? Try *Thunbergia alata*. Many garden centres sell thunbergia seed, and some will also show you plants in small tins or plastic bags.

Introduced from South Africa in 1772 by the Swedish botanist C. Thunberg who called it "black-eyed Susan," the plant can be sown or planted in March near a fence or a pergola. Since it can't climb on its own, it has to be tied in place. It likes rich, well-cultivated soil (it doesn't mind lime) and flowers abundantly from June until September.

You can also grow the plant hanging in baskets or from balcony boxes.

The flowers are notable for their bright colours: yellow, orange, cream, white or blue — all with a black or brown spot or eye in the centre.

I once saw a single thunbergia covering one whole wall and the roof of an old house in Jerusalem's Yemin Moshe with hundreds of orange flowers. It was quite something.

Thunbergia is mostly grown as an annual, but with a heavy mulch it may flower again the following season. Cut it back slightly in autumn and prune more strongly in early spring. Feed the plant regularly every week with an all-purpose fertilizer.

## Rewarding rapport

MUSIC/Yohanan Boehm

ISRAEL PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA, Zubin Mehta conducting with Pinhas Zukerman, violin, (Binyamin Hatzma, Jerusalem, March 8), Jacob Druckman: "Prism"; Haydn: Symphony No. 104, in D; Tchaikovsky: Violin Concerto, opus 35.

THIS PROGRAMME was almost entirely Zubin Mehta's show though not in a visual sense. Probably only professionals can fully appreciate his often minimal directives, which are always clear and precise. Here he seemed more restrained than usual, but Mehta plays on "his" orchestra with unequalled virtuosity, and the musicians respond accordingly.

*Prism* by Jacob Druckman (born in Philadelphia in 1928), quotes from the Baroque and from Cherubini and breaks it up with 20th century noises. Fifty years ago Stravinsky tried this in his neo-classic period and discarded it, as did contemporary composers of a decade ago who were searching for new gimmicks. Probably most of the audience mistook the pleasant enough sounds of the quotations as Druckman's invention and gave the composer, who was present, warm and prolonged applause.

The Haydn Symphony, his last, a masterwork among pearls, received

a very chamber music-like performance. All singing softness (except the more earthy *Menuet*) and smooth music-making.

Pinhas Zukerman, one hoped, would provide a personal and outstanding performance of that old warhorse, the Tchaikovsky Concerto, but he somewhat disappointed. He seemed bored with his technically undemanding task and tore with his bow into the strings as if angry about something. The only result was that his tone often was harsh and scratchy, a departure from his former excellence in tone and sound. Zubin Mehta saved the performance, delightfully giving every motive its due, directing the orchestra for every pizzicato and syncopated chord, for every imitative contribution of the various instruments, and he did so with such precision and elegance that the orchestra could not do otherwise than be an excellent foil to the soloist's rendition.

Zubin Mehta proved the high impossible: that he can improve on his incredible conducting technique and that his rapport with the Israel Philharmonic is closer than ever.

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## Finance Minister downs shares

TEL AVIV. — "I hope that the investor who puts money into shares that are going up is calculating right," was the finance minister's quotation cited in one of Friday's dailies.

It had been hoped that the relatively new finance minister had learned the lesson that when a finance minister sneezes in Jerusalem the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange acts as if it had caught pneumonia. At least until now, Yigal Cohen-Orad's pronouncements had been mild in content and he was more than satisfied in saying that the Treasury was in favour of a healthy capital market and stock exchange.

Even before the opening of trading yesterday many individuals had suggested that the finance minister in the jargon of the Middle East should have left well enough alone, especially in view of his recent statements that the Treasury would assist the capital market. "I am an observer," he was referring to the minister's statement that he intended to do away selectively with the 2 per cent Peace for Galilee sales levy.

The impact of the minister's remarks was greater than the expected.

### Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By JOSEPH MORGENTHAU

tations of a good beginning of the week. These expectations had been fuelled by announcements that two major banks were offering mutual fund units without charging a purchase commission. In the context of last week's performance, which saw the public throw some IS2-153 billion into mutual funds and prices rose sharply, it was not unreasonable to expect another week of rising prices.

The General Share Index, without commercial banks, declined by 3.16 per cent. However, many sectors fell by larger margins than indicated by the General Share Index. There were almost two heavily falling shares for each major gainer. Along the way 65 securities were established as "sellers only" and only 23 came through as "buyers only."

Shares falling by margins of more than five per cent totalled 110, while sharp gainers stood at 67.

The turnovers, as the market

turned lower, moved up noticeably and stood at just over IS1.4 billion.

Notwithstanding yesterday's conditions, the market was treated to some super upside performances. Zika 1, in the industrial group, spurred ahead by 33.7 per cent. M.G.N. 1, in the oil sector, had the best single performance of the session, with a soaring 36.6 rise.

Index-linked bonds traded quietly, on a turnover of IS331 million, as prices were mostly unchanged.

Bank shares part of the "agreement" were mostly unchanged. The only exceptions were Leumi, which eased by one per cent, and Union, which advanced marginally.

Mortgage banks issues were on the upside, as Adanim, Mishkan and Binyan all produced 10 per cent gains. Merav, on the other hand, was clipped for a 10 per cent loss. Specialized financial institution equities were slightly higher, though the Industrial Development Bank shares were 10 per cent lower.

Insurance issues were broadly lower. Aryeh was down by 10 per cent. However, it was not quite clear whether the company's purchase of the Etz Lavud shares was seen as a negative development, or whether the shares were down, in sympathy with the rest of the market. The insurance options were very volatile. Hasheneh option was 21 per cent lower, while the Yardenia option advanced by a similar figure.

The losses deepened in the services and trade groups. The losses ran as high as 10 per cent and generally were focussed on shares that had recently gone up sharply, as was the case with Yahalom Hotels.

The computer section was soft, as M.L.L. 5 was down 10 per cent.

The land development, real estate and citrus plantation group was the hardest hit, and it recorded a 5.66 per cent loss as measured by the share index. Once again, the losses centred on issues which had been recent high-flyers. Baranowitz 5 and Arden 0.5 were both 10 per cent losers. The Darad securities found themselves on the "sellers only" list. However, the Levinstein issues were the object of strong demand. The 1 shares were 10 per cent higher, while the 5 issue advanced by 15.1 per cent. The option clipped in with a 20.4 per cent gain.

Industrials clearly trended lower, with losses running up to 10 per cent. The technology section, which had performed so well recently, moved down. Elbit eased by 6.8 per cent, as Elron lost 2.8 per cent. Arif, was down by 8.4 per cent.

The Cyclone Aviation stocks were both "sellers only." T.A.T. 1, one of the market's brightest performers of late, was down by 10 per cent. The option lost 13.5 per cent. The shares of the Dead Sea Works were 4.3 per cent lower.

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Commercial Banks	Closing price	Volume	Change	% change
(not part of "arrangement")				
OHV	2020	18	-20	-1.0
Maritime 0.1	181	150	-98	-10.0
Maritime 0.5	304	4767	-34	-10.1
N. American 1	6623	449	-49	-0.7
N. American 5	5266	948	-299	-5.4
N. Am. op 1	4594	768	n.c.	n.c.
Danot 1	679	80	-75	-10.0
Danot 5	133	3876	-10	-7.0
Danot 2	357	94	-8	-2.2
First Int'l 0.5	500	1296	-18	-3.5
FIBI 0.5	404	3501	-20	-4.7

Commercial Banks	Closing price	Volume	Change	% change
(part of "arrangement")				
IDB p	127800	—	—	—
IDB p 1	5705	618	n.c.	n.c.
IDB p 5	5705	10	n.c.	n.c.
IDB p A	34230	—	—	—
IDB op 1	4265	382	n.c.	n.c.
Union 0.1	4255	150	+5	+1.1
Discount B r	7305	48	-35	-0.5
Discount A r	7305	199	-30	-4.1
Discount op 2	4030	92	-30	-7.3
Discount B en	880	18	n.c.	n.c.
Mizrahi 1	2350	153	n.c.	n.c.
Mizrahi b	2350	188	n.c.	n.c.
Mizrahi op 1	4610	74	-200	-4.5
Mizrahi op 2	1725	63	n.c.	n.c.
Mizrahi op 5	10655	5	n.c.	n.c.
Mizrahi op 10	1055	194	n.c.	n.c.
Hapoalim p	5050	—	—	—
Hapoalim r	3795	1789	n.c.	n.c.
Hapoalim b	3820	85	n.c.	n.c.
Hapoalim en 8	14600	5	n.c.	n.c.
General A	10000	19	n.c.	n.c.
General op 8	23931	1	-300	-1.1
General op 9	9640	1	+100	+1.1
General op 5	7600	—	—	—
General op 7	470	97	-5	-1.1
Leumi 0.1	2445	6283	-25	-1.0
Leumi op 1	3330	15	+18	+0.5
Leumi en 11	334	196	n.c.	n.c.
Finance Trade	3430	13	+5	+1.4
Finance Trade 5	1880	10	n.c.	n.c.

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(part of "arrangement")				
IDB p	127800	—	—	—
IDB p 1	5705	618	n.c.	n.c.
IDB p 5	5705	10	n.c.	n.c.
IDB p A	34230	—	—	—
IDB op 1	4265	382	n.c.	n.c.
Union 0.1	4255	150	+5	+1.1
Discount B r	7305	48	-35	-0.5
Discount A r	7305	199	-30	-4.1
Discount op 2	4030	92	-30	-7.3
Discount B en	880	18	n.c.	n.c.
Mizrahi 1	2350	153	n.c.	n.c.
Mizrahi b	2350	188	n.c.	n.c.
Mizrahi op 1	4610	74	-200	-4.5
Mizrahi op 2	1725	63	n.c.	n.c.
Mizrahi op 5	10655	5	n.c.	n.c.
Mizrahi op 10	1055	194	n.c.	n.c.
Hapoalim p	5050	—	—	—
Hapoalim r	3795	1789	n.c.	n.c.
Hapoalim b	3820	85	n.c.	n.c.
Hapoalim en 8	14600	5	n.c.	n.c.
General A	10000	19	n.c.	n.c.
General op 8	23931	1	-300	-1.1
General op 9	9640	1	+100	+1.1
General op 5	7600	—	—	—
General op 7	470	97	-5	-1.1
Leumi 0.1	2445	6283	-25	-1.0
Leumi op 1	3330	15	+18	+0.5
Leumi en 11	334	196	n.c.	n.c.
Finance Trade	3430	13	+5	+1.4
Finance Trade 5	1880	10	n.c.	n.c.

Commercial Banks	Closing price	Volume	Change	% change
(part of "arrangement")				
IDB p	127800	—	—	—
IDB p 1	5705	618	n.c.	n.c.
IDB p 5	5705	10	n.c.	n.c.
IDB p A	34230	—	—	—
IDB op 1	4265	382	n.c.	n.c.
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Mizrahi op 5	10655	5	n.c.	n.c.
Mizrahi op 10	1055	194	n.c.	n.c.
Hapoalim p	5050	—	—	—
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Contractors	3813	498	+5	+6.4	Blde Res.	110	s.o.l	-6	-5.2
Construction	319	—	—	—	Blde.Res.op	75	2818	+7	+10.3
Tourism	5823	—	—	—					
Clal Lease 0.1	663	163	n.c.	—					
Clal Lease 0.5	390	211	+5	+1.3					
Clal Lease deh	970	49	+10	+1.0					

Arco b r	868	1197	-97	-10.1					
Arco op 1	719	s.o.l	-46	-6.0					
Arco op sub deh	4379	—	—	—					
Arco 0.1	1300	10	+41	+3.3					
Arco 0.5 b	432	67	-30	-6.5					
Reinsur 0.1 r	1080	15	+80	+8.0					
Reinsur 0.5 r	308	1532	+40	+14.9					
Hadr 0.1	438	144	-6	-1.3					
Hadr 5	209	443	0.6	—					

Mar-Lex	218	671	n.c.	—					
Mar-Lex op	157	849	+2	+1.3					
Levinstein 1	426	129	+39	+10.1					
Levinstein 5	137	1564	+18	+15.1					
Levinstein op	304	2307	+14	+5.6					
Lifschitz 1	304	2307	34	1.5					
Lifschitz 5	185	3064	-21	-6.2					
Lifschitz op	153	3064	-21	-6.2					
Neto Avio	4720	18	-525	-10.0					
Avio Prop.	426	857	-47	-11.0					
Sahaf 1	426	54	+17	+3.9					



Art Ruth  
Editor and  
Managing Director

THE JERUSALEM  
POST

Erwin Frenkel  
Editor

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Adar-II 8, 5744 • Jamadi Thani 8, 1404

## In search of tolerance

THE FIELD of battle changes, but the conflict remains the same. Stoning Sabbath traffic on the road to Ramat, attacks on archeologists, intimidating hotel builders in Tiberias. Now the offensive is directed against the opening of a cinema in Petah Tikva on Friday nights.

In the past, the religious-secular conflict was modulated by an agreement to preserve the "status quo." That agreement was the foundation stone of the historic alliance between the National Religious Party and Labour.

Agudat Yisrael was never a participant in the premises of that agreement. And under the Likud it is Agudat Yisrael and not the fractured and weakened NRP that sets the tone. It has sought, wherever possible, to amend the status quo. The NRP has been left to say Amen. This Aguda militancy has deepened the resentment and suspicions in the secular community and brought tensions to a dangerous level.

The latest focal point is Petah Tikva. There, however, the municipal council has sought to change the status quo and caused bitter conflict in the town. On Saturday this went so far as violent vigilantism, led by the town's Ashkenazi chief rabbi. When he was arrested Agudat Yisrael promptly denounced the police for holding a rabbi on the Sabbath. Agudat Yisrael apparently did not consider busting up a cafe as violating the Sabbath, let alone the law.

These events well illustrate the widening gap that has emerged between the religious and non-religious communities. Even the law is a tenuous means of conflict resolution in this circumstance because religious zealots do not consider the law of the land decisive.

This does not mean, however, that the Petah Tikva municipality can also disregard the law. The Attorney General has ruled that the mayor was out of step in passing a by-law to open the cinema without obtaining approval of the Minister of Interior, as required by law.

This means that local government is too much under the thumb of the ministry, which can prevent a municipal council from acting on behalf of the wishes of its citizenry, at least the majority, as in this case. Such paternalism, dating back to the British Mandatory government should be changed, but in the absence of change, the Petah Tikva mayor should have found proper legal ways of taking action, and if that was not possible, should have desisted.

Perhaps at the last hour, the meeting now scheduled in Petah Tikva with Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres and the Aguda's Avraham Shapira can bring the parties back from the brink. That would put out this local fire. But much broader understanding is necessary if a national conflagration over religion, so long feared, is to be avoided.

## The tax man cometh

THE INCOME TAX authorities last week let it be known that they will soon embark upon a major campaign of collecting tax arrears. Demands for payment have been sent out to nearly half a million individuals and businesses.

It is not, let it be noted, those who have managed to evade taxes, not the operators in the grey or black economy, who are to feel the new rigour of the authorities. It is taxpayers who have filed statements or whose tax liabilities have been determined by assessment who are to be reminded of Ecclesiastes' precept that "better is it that thou shouldst not vow, than that thou shouldst vow and not pay."

It seems that thousands of individuals and businesses have made it a practice to appoint the tax administration as their private bank. Many not only treat their own tax dues cavalierly, but also hold on to the money they have collected from their employees, instead of handing it over within the already generous time lag permitted by the law.

The announced drive to collect these arrears can only be welcomed. The question, nevertheless, is why the authorities have so far allowed these tax debts to accumulate? If an administration that has not been increased by a single official and has invented no new mechanism of tax collection is now able to drive in billions of outstanding tax dues, why was this not done before?

Is the public to assume that there was a permissive attitude inspired from high up, or that a bureaucratic row between the top officials of the tax administration - now overcome by the resignation of the Commissioner of State Revenue, Moshe Bar-Tov - paralyzed the entire machinery of tax collection?

With the announcement of the new drive, the public is entitled to an explanation. Without it, there are likely to be many more who will heed Ecclesiastes and decide that it is better not to vow at all, not to file any tax statements, than to have to pay.

Over the years tax collection campaigns of this or that scope and severity have been announced again and again. Most have as regularly sunk into oblivion, and the figures on actual tax collection have not shown that they had much result. A stop-and-go manner of administering the tax system is even worse than an inefficient and permissive one. It becomes a harassment of the honest taxpayer - shrinking as the number of these seem to be - without succeeding in achieving its fiscal objectives.

What is really needed is not campaigns or drives but a clearly established set of rules of the game, clearly and firmly enforced. If the new campaign now announced is to be a beginning of that, it is to be welcomed. Chances are, however, that it will be no different from all the other campaigns that have come and gone before it.

# A double standard

By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN

THE ALIGNMENT has benefited from having in its Knesset faction Rabbi Menahem Hacohen. "The rabbi of the moshavim," if only to show that the religious parties do not have a monopoly on religion. Last week, in the debate on the Tereza Anghelovici affair, Hacohen proved himself an asset to Orthodoxy and to the Knesset as a whole.

Agudat Yisrael boycotted the debate. Yehuda Ben-Meir spoke for two minutes, in which he read out the resolution adopted by the National Religious Party denouncing the ghoulish removal of Anghelovici's body from its grave and urging all concerned not to use the incident to add fuel to the religious-secular conflict.

It remained for Rabbi Hacohen to make a staunch defence of the halachic viewpoint on the burial of a Christian in a Jewish cemetery and to stand up against the general tendency of the speakers to allow their understandable sympathy for the family to becloud the issue.

The Knesset debate was opened by Shulamit Aloni, who asserted that "for the sake of peace" (*mipnei darchei shalom*), Halacha not only permits, but prescribes, the burial of Christians and Jews in the same cemetery. *Darchei shalom*, she asserted, was more important "than all the various ingredients of religious law, which can be interpreted this way or that."

In extremely polite language, Hacohen told Aloni that she didn't know what she was talking about. There was indeed a statement in the *Shulhan Aruch* that "Gentile dead are buried with Jewish dead for the sake of peace," but the standard interpretation of that rule was that Jews are required to give gentiles a decent burial, too.

Aloni interjected that she had not been referring to that rule, but to a cryptic statement on Kol Yisrael that morning by Prof. Ephraim Urbach to the effect that if in the present case all concerned had acted in accordance with *mipnei darchei shalom*, the whole problem could have been settled long ago.

Anghelovici was a respected

woman and a loyal citizen of the state of Israel, Hacohen said. "But 120 Knesset members cannot decide that she is Jewish, any more than they can decide that Meir Vilner is not Jewish...Let us not blur the distinction between Israel and the nations."

A number of speakers in the debate thought otherwise. They argued that Anghelovici had voluntarily followed her Jewish husband to a concentration camp, that her decision to settle in Israel proved that she identified herself with the Jewish people, that she brought up her children as Jews and (thus the Alignment's Ya'acov Tsur) that "she considered herself Jewish."

The bit about the concentration camp has been challenged, and when asked about this last week, Tereza's husband, Yosef, told a reporter: "I never said we were in a concentration camp, but it is true that she followed me to a forced labour camp." That for the record, not that it affects Halacha one way or the other.

Mapam's Yair Tzaban went beyond the others in saying that Tereza had not only lived as a Jewess but also died as a Jewess. Does that mean that she recited the Jewish *Vidui* on her deathbed? Tzaban, after reciting Tereza's virtues, asked rhetorically: "What else did she have to do in order for us to grant her Jewish identity?"

CONVERT to Judaism, is the rabbi's answer. This Tereza never did, and, according to Rabbi Yehiel Halevy, director-general of the Chief Rabbinate, it was no over-sight.

When her daughter, Adina Harpaz, applied to the Chief Rabbinate for conversion about 10 years ago, he says, she was asked whether her mother didn't want to convert, too. The rabbinates are not keen on converting only some members of a family to Judaism, with the others continuing in another faith.

Adina stated that her mother did not wish to convert, and in this case the rabbi nevertheless proceeded with the daughter's conversion. For

this reason, Rabbi Halevy doubts whether Tereza even expressed the wish for a Jewish burial. If Adina has any proof of this, she has not produced it.

It is noteworthy that not a single member in the Knesset debate, including Rabbi Hacohen, mentioned the Chief Rabbinate's finding, last November, that Tereza's burial in the Jewish cemetery of Rishon LeZion, was accomplished fraudulently.

Surely this is a highly relevant question, and the decision of the High Court of Justice about making permanent its temporary injunction against the removal of Tereza's body from its grave may well hang on this point.

Rabbi Halevy says that Adina truthfully told the burial society that her mother was Jewish.

And Rabbi Yisrael Meir Lau, chief rabbi of Netanyahu and member of the Chief Rabbinate Council, says he saw the death certificate issued by the Ramle office of the Health Ministry, with the entry "Christian" crossed out and the word "Jewess" written above it.

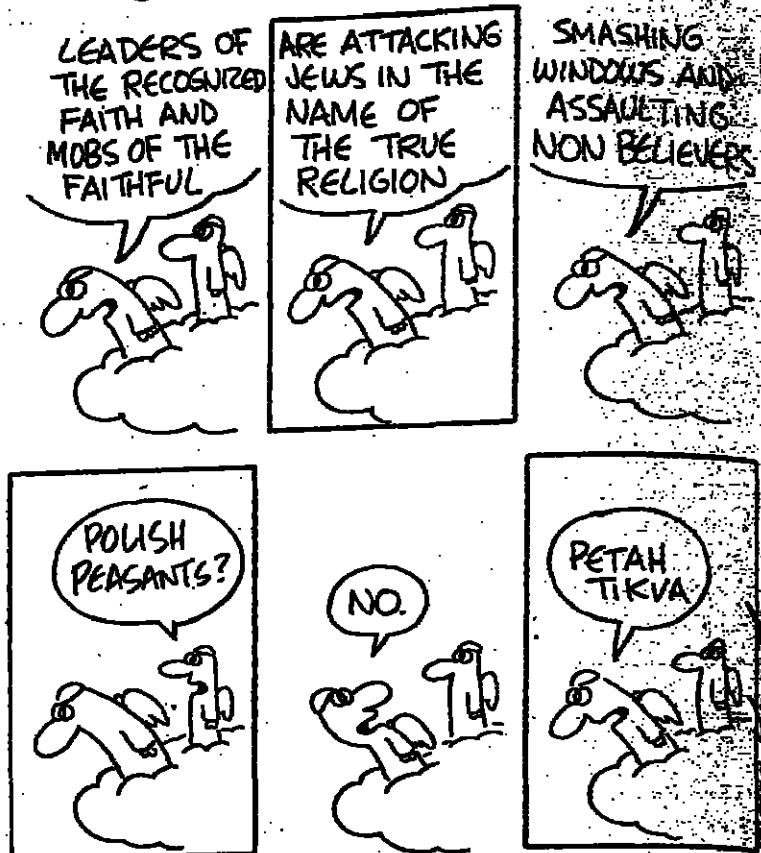
Adina's rebuttal, printed in last Friday's *Ma'ariv*, seems disingenuous: "I didn't lie. On my birth certificate, and that of my sister, from Rumania, it says 'Mosaic religion' in accordance with our father's religion."

Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg told the Knesset last November that when Anghelovici came to Israel in 1964, she listed her religion as Christian, and that when she applied for naturalization in 1979, she did so under the provision in the law that applies to non-Jews. Since she never converted, Halacha does not recognize her as Jewish.

One critic of this "ossified and medieval" halachic interpretation has asked what sense does it make to bury murderers and rapists in a Jewish cemetery with no questions asked but to bar a decent woman like Tereza Anghelovici?

To answer "that's the Halacha!" is not necessarily callous. As Menahem Hacohen noted, 120 MKs cannot decide that Meir Vilner is not

## Dry Bones



Jewish. Vilner, the Communist MK, whom many consider a renegade of the Jewish people, cannot be denied a final resting-place in a Jewish cemetery. Is Halacha really without a logic of its own?

HERUT's Akiva Nof did well to remind us that in the civil courts, too, the judge will often say to one of the parties: "My heart goes out to you, I think you are right, but I am bound by the law." Nof said he could understand the predicament of Rishon LeZion Chief Rabbi David Volpa, who had no choice but to act in accordance with Halacha.

But many of the Knesset debaters did not see it that way. Because Volpa acts in accordance with Halacha, they portray him as a monster, and the Knesset Interior Committee - of all bodies - adopts a resolution, declaring that where state law conflicts with Halacha the former must prevail.

Some MKs went on to advocate the establishment of secular cemeteries, where any Israeli resident could be buried as a matter of

right. That may be the solution, until the law is changed; it must be observed.

The dominant feeling both in the Knesset and the media, before the High Court's ruling last November, was that the *status quo ante* must be restored if only to deny the robbers of a victory for their accomplices. Let the High Court make whatever final decision it wants next week or next month, but for the moment - regardless of Halacha - many added - the remains must be returned to the original grave.

Yet Aloni, and Tzaban, and Mordechai Virshubski apparently think it perfectly all right to reward those who resorted to fraud to secure the original burial. (Until this finding by the Chief Rabbinate Council was proved, we must respect it more than we would a similar finding by the Supreme Court.)

This is a curious double standard. But all is fair in the war against the religious establishment.

The writer is the Knesset Reporter of The Jerusalem Post.

## READERS' LETTERS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post  
Sir, - Although I am by no means an expert in the affairs of the Israeli underworld, I do know a good deal about Amos Orion, and indirectly about Azar Cohen, the man who was murdered with Orion at the Bar Bakar meat-processing plant. I was, therefore, amazed by the mass of inaccuracies in Robert Rosenberg's references to them ("Unholy trinity" - March 2).

Here are several examples: "In August 1981," writes Rosenberg, Azar Cohen was released from Kfar Yona prison.... In fact, by that time Azar Cohen had been dead for over a year. He was released from prison in August 1979, after spending three years (not five) in prison. Further: "Orion (was) also to be released from jail at about the same time. September 1981," writes Rosenberg. In fact, Orion had by then been dead for 14 months. Cohen and Orion were murdered on July 23, 1980, at which time Orion had been free for about three months.

Moreover, Orion did not, as Rosenberg has it, "persuade Cohen...that instead of striking at the establishment, they strike at the underworld itself." In fact, Cohen acted as Orion's spokesman in demanding that Oshri and Aharoni compensate him for the nine years he had spent in prison for the 1971

## ISRAEL'S UNDERWORLD

murder of a Brink's employee - a crime which Orion claimed had been committed by Oshri and Aharoni's gang and in which they framed him. All the information about this is available in the transcript of Oshri's trial in 1981, in innumerable newspaper reports from that time and in my book, "The life and death of Amos Orion" (Adam Publishers, 1982).

Oshri and Aharoni - leaders of the so-called "Yemenite Vineyard Gang" - were named not in "several newspaper reports as key underworld figures," but in the Shimon Commission Report on Organized Crime in Israel. And Rosenberg is also mistaken when he states that "the police weren't able to nail the two men for any criminal deeds." In fact, the two had amassed considerable police records, though in the last few years, they had concentrated on legitimate business here and abroad.

Finally, it is not true that both Oshri and Aharoni are serving life sentences for the double murder at Bar Bakar. Oshri, yes. He was convicted of the murder and sentenced to life imprisonment, but Aharoni - who had to be extradited in 1982 from Italy - was convicted only as accessory, and sentenced to 12 years in prison.

Jerusalem.

## Robert Rosenberg comments:

Ms. Lotan is right - in going through my notes after receiving her letter to check on the chronology, I discovered that I inadvertently confused the dates regarding Orion and Cohen. It is also true that Cohen served only three of his five years sentence, and that Aharoni was convicted only as an accessory.

However, police sources have made clear to me that, while it was Cohen who did the speaking for Orion (who had a speech impediment) it was Orion who introduced Cohen to the Tel Aviv underworld. And that was the point: Cohen until he met Orion, was considered a provincial Jerusalemite with few contacts in Tel Aviv.

The Shimon Commission did, indeed, name Oshri and Aharoni as key underworld figures, but both had long before been profiled in newspaper reports. Furthermore, when writing that the police had not been able "to nail the two men for any criminal deeds," I should have added the phrase "in recent years."

However, the fact is that Oshri and Aharoni were long-time suspects, as reported in both the press and the Shimon Commission report, for deeds that if the police had been able to "nail them" they would have long been in jail and not ever had the opportunity to go into legitimate business.

## FULL RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post  
Sir, - I refer to "Population statistics," a letter by Dr. Simcha Bahiri (March 6), itself a rebuttal to "Debunking a threat" by Yedidya Atlas (February 12).

Dr. Bahiri's concluding point is that, "even if Mr. Atlas is right and the Arab population dropped to as low as one-third of the total population by the mid-1990s instead of two-fifths as I argue - is there really any major difference? Even a 'Jewish' State with over one-third Arab population would in reality become a bi-national state, but without the full civic and social rights attained by the minority."

In light of Dr. Bahiri's astute demographic analysis, it is surprising that his sociological conclusions are lacking. In order for anyone to become a citizen of any country, with full rights, he must adhere to certain responsibilities as well. In Israel this means a national service requirement (as have all Israelis), paying Israeli taxes, as high as 60 per cent (Judea-Samaria Arabs pay income tax to neither Israel nor Jordan), and swearing allegiance to Israel as the sovereign state.

One must note that when Jerusalem was reunited in 1967, less than 1 per cent of the East Jerusalem Arabs opted for Israeli citizenship when it was offered (and a national service requirement was not then applicable); and many of those who did take it now regret it, especially at tax-time. Although in this instance Israel went out of its way to offer first-class citizenship to this segment of its Arab population, their refusal to accept civic responsibilities that go hand-in-hand with civic rights indicated that the choice of "second-class" citizenship is their own.

"Full civic and social rights" granted in blanket form to anyone, if a person chooses not to accept it, citizenship, he cannot in all conscience complain of lack of those rights.

RACHEL KATZMAN  
Jerusalem.

PENFRIENDS  
ROSEMARY BENNETT (38), of 73 Albany Road, Redruth, Cornwall, England, is the mother of five children aged 19 to 11. She has started to learn Hebrew and would like to meet Israeli penfriends.

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## POSTSCRIPTS

SOME establishments that deal with visitors from abroad apparently regard them as cows to be milked. Two of them are the Hilton Hotel in Jerusalem and Bardugo caterers in the Knesset. When the press office of the Presidents' Conference recently ordered coffee for journalists and staff, the Hilton sent in two pots of coffee and 20 cups. The charge was \$41. Yehuda Hellman, executive vice-chairman of the conference, was furious: "That's why you don't have more tourists in Jerusalem!" he protested. Finally, the bill was reduced to \$21. A few days later, a few dozen journalists were sent to the Knesset cafeteria to eat while the Presidents' Conference participants dined with Prime Minister Shamir. Each journalist and technician was offered a piece of cake and a cup of coffee, and the Presidents' Conference was charged \$20 apiece. J.S.I.

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